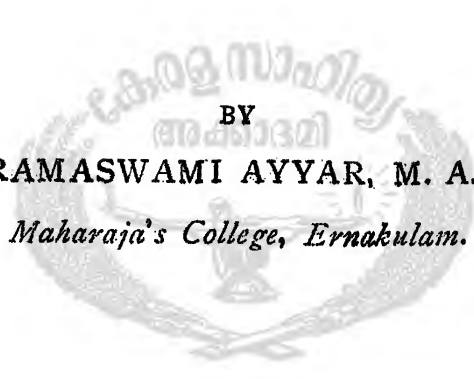


THE EVOLUTION
OF
MALAYALAM MORPHOLOGY.

BY
L. V. RAMASWAMI AYYAR, M. A., B. L.,
Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.

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P R E F A C E .

An attempt is made in this monograph to study the evolution of the morphology of Malayalam with the help of the data furnished by inscriptions and literary texts.

Though descriptive accounts of Malayalam are available in Gundert's "Grammar of the Mal. language" (published in 1868) and in A. R. Raja Raja Varma's Keraḷa Pāṇinīyam (2nd edition), a detailed historical survey (embodying illustrations from inscriptions and texts) of the evolution of the grammatical features of Mal. has so far remained a desideratum. Gundert, one of the pioneers in the study of Mal. grammar, did indeed occasionally advert in his work to the origin of some of the grammatical forms; but his handling of the historical aspects was necessarily inadequate and imperfect in view of the fact that many important classics (e. g. Uṇṇunīṣandeṣam, Līlātīlakam, the Niraṇam works and the campus) and several inscriptions were not available in his time. Quite a large number of historical aspects are envisaged in Keraḷa Pāṇinīyam (which was at once historical and analytical in its treatment); but the scope of that *magnum opus* was far too wide to admit of the possibility of the historical side being worked out in full on a chronological basis with reference to texts and inscriptions.

The influence of tradition has always been strong in Mal., and in the earlier stages the tempo of evolution was not the same in all areas; hence it sometimes happens that texts which chronologically belong to later periods, preserve forms mirroring earlier stages of evolution. Barring instances of this type, the gradual development of forms could be traced from period to period in literature and in inscriptions.

A historical survey, like the present one, cannot avoid discussing origins. I have had, therefore, to outline a number of

perspectives in the course of this essay; but in doing so, I have as far as possible allowed the facts to speak for themselves and yield the inferences. Chief among such new perspectives outlined here are those relating to the origin of the “qualificatory” \bar{e} [Ch. I, § 10], the unique Mal. tense with \bar{u} [Ch. IV, § 6] and the Mal. negatives embodying tense-affixes [Ch. IV, § 14].

I hope that Ch. VI which groups together under separate headings the specialities of the morphology of some of the prominent Mal. classics, and Ch. VII which treats about the question of affinities,—a question about which unfortunately hazy and unscientific notions still prevail,—will be found useful.

The importance of the comparative study of the Dravidian languages is increasingly recognized today; but the condition precedent to all comparative studies is that the individual speeches themselves should first be analysed both from the historical and the descriptive standpoints. I venture to hope that the present monograph will be useful not only to students of Malayālam but also to a wider circle of Indianists interested in comparative linguistic studies.

The documentation may appear to be somewhat forbiddingly elaborate; but since this work is the first of its kind, the detailed references to the sources will, I trust, not be found superfluous.

I know that definitive editions are lacking for some of the classical works in Malayālam; but I have taken care to embody in this essay only such illustrations as repeatedly crop up in different works or recur in different contexts in the course of the same work.

The printing of this book has by no means been an easy task. Some of the symbols [dental n'; alveolar t',d'] had to be improvised. The compositors were unused to the work of

handling diacritics, and the proof-sheets had to be corrected several times before the formes could be made ready for the machine. But the unfailing courtesy of the Superintendent of the Government Press, Mr. N. M. Parameswara Ayyar, considerably lightened my task of piloting the work through the Press, and I take this opportunity to thank him for the facilities that he placed at my disposal in this connection.

My thanks are also due to the Rama Varma Research Institute Committee for the kind readiness with which my work was accepted for publication.

Ernakulam,
25th April 1936.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AYYAR.



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TRANSLITERATION.

The system of notation popularised by the Royal Asiatic Society has been adopted for the transliteration of sounds in this book, with the following additions:—

n'—dental nasal [As the dental nasal in Mal. is a separate phoneme independent of the alveolar n, a separate symbol has to be adopted. The only satisfactory symbol that could be improvised in this Press is n']

t'—breathed alveolar plosive.

d'—voiced alveolar plosive.

r—the cerebral r of Mal., slightly, trilled.

u—the unrounded, back, closed Tam. vowel appearing in final positions of words.

ə—the Mal. representative of Tam. u—a mixed, half-closed or half-open vowel.

[For the sake of convenience, I have used only the symbol u in this essay to represent these two last-mentioned sounds]

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INTRODUCTION.

The object of the present paper is threefold :—

(a) to mark off the beginnings of the morphology of Mal. grammar from the parent stage with reference to the earliest inscriptions and texts ;

(b) to determine the relationship of Mal. features to those of the parent speech and to distinguish the unique characteristics of Mal. morphology ;

(c) to trace the evolution of morphological features from period to period, and to classify the chief linguistic characteristics of the different periods.

I am concerned in this essay only with the beginnings and the evolution of Morphology. Neither Phonology nor Syntax falls directly within the scope of this essay except in so far as they are useful to illustrate or explain points of morphology. I have already dealt with some of the more important aspects of Phonology in my "Grammar in Līlātilakam" and in my "Primer of Mal. Phonology"; and the treatment of the development of Mal. syntax has to be reserved for a separate paper.

So far as the affinities of Mal. to other Dravidian languages are concerned, I may state at once the conclusion that has been irresistibly borne in on me by the facts set out in my essay:—

(i) Most of the morphological features are nearest related to those of Early Middle Tamil.

(ii) Many of them are derivable phonetically and historically from Early Middle Tamil.

(iii) A few unique features do exist in Mal.; and one or two of these may have been archaisms preserved in the west coast colloquial.

In my paper on the "Morphology of the Old Tamil Verb" I have indicated that there exists more or less a sharp linguistic cleavage between the language of the Śaṅgam works and that of the Tamil writers [the Vaiṣṇavite Aḷwars and the Saivite saints] from about the 5th century onwards. Śaṅgam Tamil may be conveniently described as Old Tamil, and the post-5th century Tamil as Middle Tamil. Tolkāppiyam Collaḍigāram embodies the rules of Old Tamil grammar, while the eleventh century Vīracōḷiyam and the thirteenth century Nannūl contemplate the particular usages of Middle Tamil also. It is with reference to this cleavage between Śaṅgam Tamil or Old Tamil on the one hand and, on the other, Early Middle Tamil [from about the 5th century to about the 10th century] that the features of Mal. morphology have been examined here; and I may say at once that such an examination reveals very clearly a remarkable closeness of affinity for Mal. to Early Middle Tamil. There are a few features of Mal. morphology which may be described as archaic, but even these are nearer related to Tamil than to any other Dravidian speech. Most features of Mal. morphology are either most nearly allied to, or derivable from, a stage of speech corresponding to Early Middle Tamil. For details, I would refer the reader to the section on "Affiliations of Mal." in Chapter VI below.

In composing this treatise, I have consulted all the chief available published west coast inscriptions and the important printed literary texts. Though the date of composition of Rāmacaritam is controversial, there is little doubt that it contains quite a large number of transitional forms of interest to the student of Mal. linguistics. The value of the works of the Niraṇam Paṇikkars need certainly not be underestimated merely because they have employed some Tamilisms [see chapter VI] in their works. While the usefulness, to the student of the Mal. language, of the early maṇipravālas, of Līlātīlakam and of Kṛṣṇa gāthā would be generally recognized, the unique importance of the fifteenth or sixteenth century prose version of the Bhāgavatam

[the daśama skandha has been published in the Srī Mūlam granthāvali series, and portions of other skandhas in the Prācīna Grantha Mālā, edited by Prince Appan Tamburāṇ] deserves special emphasis. It is true that in syntax and in vocabulary the translator or translators have been enormously influenced by Sanskrit, but the work also bristles with unique Old Mal. forms.

Not less valuable is the evidence of the Mal. portions of the campus, particularly of the Mal. gadyas some of which abound in "communal" colloquialisms of a more or less archaic character.

I mark off the following linguistic periods for Mal.

1. The Beginnings of Mal.—The exact limits are difficult to ascertain. The usual opinion that the 10th century marks the end of this epoch need not be absolute in view of the fact that Mal. may have developed and popularised its characteristic linguistic features even before the 10th century in the colloquials of the west coast. This development which (I may incidentally observe) need not have been uniform in all areas of Malabar, was perhaps given the sanction of "dignified" usage only from about the 9th or 10th century.

2. Old Mal.—The lower limit may conveniently be fixed as the 16th century. The following sub-divisions are more or less conspicuous.

(a) Early Old Mal. [till the 12th or the 13th century].—This was the period when the literary tradition was still dominantly subject to the sway of Tamil conventions. This is the period, *par excellence*, of the form described as pāṭṭu in Līl.

(b) Early Maṇipravāḷa period [till the end of 14th century], marked by the phenomenal influence of Sanskrit in all the various directions pointed out by Līl.

(c) The campus period [till the 16th century], in which the influence of Sanskrit continued to assert itself though in the sphere of language it was shorn of the bizarre Samskr̥tīkṛta-bhāṣā forms of the early maṇipravāḷa period.

Though I have indicated above the *dominant* characteristics of each of the sub-divisions, it should not be supposed that these are chronologically exclusive. For instance, it is very likely that the influence of Sanskrit and that of the Tamil literary conventions coexisted in Malabar from the earliest times. The works of the Nirāṇam Paṇikkars who use many Tamilisms (presumably out of deference partly to a regional speech and partly to a literary tradition current at the time) were written in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, after the early maṇipravāla Kāvya Uṇṇunilisandeśa. Again, Kṛṣṇa Gāthā and Ceṟuṣṣēri Bhāratam,—works free from any abnormal influence of either Sanskrit or Tamil,—appear to have been written in the fifteenth century—a period when some of the most important Mal. campu prabhandhas with their Sanskritic flair and usages were also composed.

In marking off the periods, therefore, under the captions “Pāṭṭu period”, “Early Maṇipravāla period”, etc., what is contemplated is only the dominant literary influence of the time, as reflected in some of the chief productions.

3. New. Mal. [From the 16th century to the present day]

- (a) Transitional New Mal.: the period of Eḷuttaṣṣan.
- (b) Early New Mal.— Pūṇḍanam, Keraḷa Varma Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇam, Kōṭṭayattu Tamburān.
[16th and 17th centuries]
- (c) Middle New Mal.— The period of Kuṇjan, Uṇṇāyi, Rāmapurattu and Kallēṅgulaṇṇare.
[18th century]
- (d) Late New Mal.— From Valia Kōyittamburān to the present day. [19th century and early 20th century]

CHAPTER I—NOMINAL INFLECTIONS.

1. BASES.

1. The constant embodiment of vocalic glides with noun bases in inflexional positions between the final vowels of the bases and the initial vowels of inflexions or of the augments has led to the semi-permanent incorporation of these glides in the bases when these bases are immediately followed by pauses, or by other words or postpositions having initial consonants.

(a) The front *y*, followed by the enunciative:—

തീയ്° tīyu [Bh Bh, 1, p. 76]

കയ്യ്° kayyu	}	[Bh Bh, 2, p. 31]
കയ്യുകൾ kayyugal		
beside കൈകൾ kaigal		

നീയ്° nīyyu [before a pause] Pr Gr Bh, p. 52

(b) The back *v*, followed by the enunciative:—

നടുവ്° naḍuvu [RC]; മഘ്° māvu, പൂവ്° pūvu [L III, 12, comm.], മാവു maṭuvu [L, III, 4, comm.] വടുവ്° vaḍuvu [B] പൂവുകൾ pūvugal [B]; the following adaptations from Skt:—രാഹുവ്° rāhuvu [KR, Kišk., 332]; വായുവ്° vāyuvu [KR., Sund.], ഗോവുകൾ gōvugal beside gōkkaḷ [B]; രാജാവു rājāvu, ഭർത്താവു bharttāvu, കാർത്താവു karttāvu, etc.

Literary Tamil does not allow the incorporation of *y* and *v* in these contexts i. e. before pauses or consonants following.

In Mal. however, this has been expressly "sanctioned" by Līl. III, 4 and 12 comm.

The incorporation of these sounds is common in the texts and in the modern colloquial; but rāhuvu and vāyuvu cited above from KR do not have v-u to-day, though rājāvu, karttāvu are quite common.

In old compounds, even when the second constituent has an initial consonant, the glide and the enunciative do not appear:

kai kāryam, kai-k-kol-, pū-k-kottu, naḍu-k-kuttu, tī-k-kanal, mai-k-kaṇṇi.

2. Before pauses and before consonants following, monosyllabic noun bases with final *l*, *ḷ*, *n*, *ṇ*, *r* [for some of the rules guiding this feature, see my DS] optionally incorporate the enunciative *u* ⁽¹⁾ [*ə*] in Mal.

കണ്ണുകൾ *Kannu-gaḷ*, കണ്ണനിർ *Kannu-nīr* beside കണ്ണിർ *Kaṇṇīr*, കാലുകൾ, *Kālu-gaḷ* beside കാൽകൾ *Kāl-gaḷ* [KR, Sund., 7], ആൽ *āru*, പല്ല മുളച്ചു *pullu muḷaccu* [Bh Bh, 1, p. 77]

Lil. III, 24 provides for this divergence of Mal. from literary Tamil. Colloquial Tamil, literary Telugu and Middle and Modern Kann. incorporate the enunciative always in such circumstances [See my DS].

It may be observed that in old word-compounds like പൽ തൈലം *pul-t-tailam*, പോർക്കളം *pōṛ-k-kaḷam*, കണ്ണോവ് *kaṇṇōvu*, കൽത്തളം *kaḷ-t-taḷam*, ആൽത്തറ *āl-t-tara*, കാൽ കൈ തോൾ *kāl kai tōḷ* [KK, Sund., 210], the absolute consonantal character of these cillugals [ചില്ലുകൾ] is preserved.

3. Literary Tamil noun-bases *vāy*, *nāy*, *kāy*, *pāy* show in Mal. the following forms:—

(i) *vāy*, etc. in old Mal. as in Tam.

The old writers generally use these bases which are also heard to-day in regional colloquials of Malabar.

(ii) *vā*, *nā*, *kā*, and *pā*, with the final *y* dropped before initial consonants of words following:—

വാ വിട്ടു *vā viṭṭu* [Rāj.]; [KR, Kišk., 112]

നാ നരി *nā nārī* [Bh Bh, 1, p. 36]

നാ തൊട്ടമോ *nā toḍumō* [Rām camp., SP]

വാ കീറിക്കൊന്നു *vā kīṛi-k-konṇu* [Eḷ Bh]

കാ കറികൾ *kā kaṛigaḷ* [cf., however, *kāy kaṇigaḷ* in K R, Sund., 89].,

പാ മരം *pā maram*

(1) The incorporation of the enunciative is common in Tamil colloquial from a very early period, since constructions like നെല്ലുച്ചേറും *neḷḷu* occur in Middle Tam. inscriptions [cf. ŚII, II, p. 253 ff.—10th century]. In Mal., this feature appears to have received literary recognition, though instances like കാൽ കൈ തോൾ [K R, Sund., 210] continued to exist.

It will be observed from the illustrations that the elision of the final-y is due here to the fact that the words concerned are so intimately associated with phrases or words following, as to become almost "compounded" with them.

In modern regional colloquials, pā, kā, and vā 'mouth' are often heard before consonants and pauses.

(iii) The forms appear as vāy-a, nāya, kāya and pāya in some modern colloquials invariably before pauses, often before initial consonants of other words following and occasionally showing -a [slightly modified to a "neutral" sound] in genitives like കായടെ വില kāyaḍe vila, വായടെ നാണം vāyaḍe nāṭṭam, പായടെ മേലെ pāyaḍe mēle, and in other forms like വായലും vāyalum [Pr Gr Bh, p. 193], മറയ്ക്കുക vāya [VR, p. 198] വായ പൊത്തിച്ചിരിച്ചുകൊണ്ട് vāya potticciṛicēār [Venmaṇi's Kucēlavṛ.]

When followed by initial vowels of other words following, or when used in inflexions other than the genitives, the -a is not heard: നായ്ക്കു nāy-kku, പായിൽ pāy-il, കായ് എടുക്ക kāy eḍukka etc. നായടെ nāyaḍe is quite common, besides nāyind'e in one or two colloquial contexts viz., nāyind'e mōn which is a term of abuse, and nāyind'e vāl, still preserving the old augment.

2. THE ACCUSATIVE OR THE SECOND CASE.

1. The Mal. ending -e, corresponding to Tam. -ai, was evolved fairly early. The inscriptions of the 12th and 13th centuries show the second case ending -e beside -ai (as in Tamil) [GL, p. 9]

The process of evolution was: e < ə < front a < a west coast variant of Tamil ai.

The intermediate stage ə is attested by symbolic representation in Mss, like കണ്ണനപ്പുക്കണ്ണ kannaṇṇa-p-pugannu (having praised Kṛṣṇa) [KG] and in വസ്തുവകകൊണ്ടു vastuva-k-konḍu [TAS, V, p. 59], കോനയ്യകണ്ടു koṇayum-k-kaṇḍu [KR, Ar., 9]

2. Syntactic usages like രാജ്യത്തിനെ അധിവസിച്ച രാജ്യത്തിനെ adhyavasiccū, met with in Bh Bh 1 are imitations of Skt. 'case' constructions. The commentary on Sūtra 11 of the second śilpa of Līl, expressly condemns such usages.

(1) തേരിനെ അധിവസിച്ചതേളള [2, p. 70], ഇത്രപ്രസ്ഥത്തെ അധിവസിച്ചു [2, p. 111], ചോരകയെ അധിവസിക്കുന്ന കരളത്തു [p. 86].

3. The following bases govern the accusative:—*vēr-irikk-* അരചനെ വേറിടന്നു *araśane vērirunṇu* [RC, 826], *ഉണ്ണുനീലിം വേറിടന്നു* *uṇṇunīlīm vērirunṇu* [US]; *vēr-id-as* in പ്രകൃതിയെ വേറിട്ടു *vērīṭṭu* [E] *Rām*; *mun-n-id* as in ചോചിനെമുനിട്ടു *munniṭṭu*; and *pin-n-id* as in രാത്രിയം പിന്നീട്ടു *pinniṭṭu*. [cf. *nēriḍ-in* അവനെ നേരിട്ടു *avane nēriṭṭu*, which still exists to day.]

3. THE THIRD CASE.

1. ആൽ *āl*, expressing chiefly the ideas of agency and instrumentality, corresponds to Middle Tam. third case ending *āl* [N, 297].

Old Tam. has *ān*, envisaged in TC, 108.

2. *cḍu* or *ṭḍu* expresses the idea of sociality.

3. *ṭḍu* is used for "separation" also in early Mal. texts:—

ഉറവരോടു വേർപാടു *uṟṟavarōḍu vērpāḍu* [RC, 694]

ഇടരോടു വേറായ് *iḍarōḍu vēṛāy* [KR, *Ar*, 42].

നീരോടു വേറായ് *nīrōḍu vēṛāya* [KG].

ഇന്ദ്രത്താം തന്നോടു വേറിട്ടപോം *indrattvam tannōḍu vēriṭṭu-pōm* [CBh, p. 290].

ചേതനയോടു പിരിഞ്ഞു *cētanayōḍu piriṇṇu* [KG].

ശരീരത്തെപ്രാണനോടു വേർപെട്ടതുകണ്ടു *śarīratte prāṇanōḍu vērpēṭṭadu kaṇḍu* [Pr Gr Bh, p. 259].

E]. uses *ṭḍu* in connection with "separation", though the fifth case is also associated by him with this idea:—

കിൽബിഷത്തോടു വേർപെട്ടു *kilbiṣattōḍu vērpēṭṭu* [*Rām*—, p. 23].

The fifth case ending also appears in E], as in കമ്മബന്ധത്തി കൽനീന്നു വേർപെട്ടു *Karmabandhattiṅgal nīnṇu vērpēṭṭu* [E] *Rām.*, p. 26].

The use of *ṭḍu* for "separation" is peculiar. This usage exists in Sanskrit also [cf. Whitney's Gr., p. 95]. TC does not envisage any such *mayakkam* for Tam.; but *oppaloppurai* referred to in *Sūtra* 74 as one of the uses of the third case may conceivably contemplate contexts indicating 'absence of union'.

4. THE FOURTH CASE.

-^h ku or ^h-kku appears as the fourth case ending for all Mal. nominal bases other than those with final n or those embodying the augment -in- [see below under "Augments"]. This dative ending is a pan-Dravidian one.

^h nu, ^h- nnu appearing as the fourth case ending of Mal. bases with final -n, and ^h inu or ^h innu associated with bases embodying the augment -in- are directly derived from older forms having final -ku or -kku.

Early Middle Tam. shows forms like വേങ്കടത്താനക്കു^o vēṅga-ḍattān-u-kku [Tiruvāymoḷi, p. 46], നായിനക്കു^o nāy-in-u-kku [HTS, p. 92], ആവിനക്കു^o āvinukku, കോവിനക്കു^o kō-v-in-u-kku, നാവിനക്കു^o nāvinukku [HTS, p. 58], ഒന്റിനക്കു^o ond'-in-u-kku [SII, III p. 99 ff.], in which the -u appearing before -kk is a Middle Tam "cāriyai". The Mal -nu or -nnu was derived from this type with the elision of final -kk. In RC and in the earliest west coast inscriptions, forms with -n-u-kk or -in-u-kk- alternate with those showing the developments -nu and -inu: virādanukkum [RC, 70], vēndanukku [ib., 76], tanayanukku [ib., 77]. The optional lengthening of the consonant sound -n-in Mal. [cf. Lī., IV, 2, comm.] was perhaps a compensatory one for the elision of -kk.

The demarcation in Malayālam of the datives with -kku from those with -inu or -nu depends upon whether the bases incorporate the augment -in- in inflexional positions, when these bases are other than those with final "person"-denoting n (for which the datives have invariably -nu) and with final "person"-denoting l and r, for which -kku is invariable in the datives. The rules regarding the embodiment of the augment -in- for nominal bases appear to have become more or less consistent and uniform from about the period of the earliest literary texts. The inscriptions of the 10th century [cf. TAS, V, p. 7 and p. 32] show datives with -nu with such a fair degree of frequency that one can safely say that -nu must have already been current in the west coast colloquials about this time.

Generally uniform as the demarcation was [see below, for the rules], a few divergences exist between Old and New Mal. in respect of bases with final -l, -l̥ and -r (other than the "person" denoting l̥ and r). Dissyllabic bases with these sounds as finals

took on -kk for their datives (i. e. without the augment -in-), as in അടലു് *aḍal-kku* [RC, 428], വാതിലു് *vāḍil-kku* [CAR, II, p. 16], വെയിലു് *veyyil-kku* [KR, Ār., 39]. Down till the Middle New Mal. period, forms like വിരലു് *virala-kku* [OT, p. 438], കോവിലു് *kōvil-kku* [OT, p. 551] appear to have been current. In the modern colloquials, however, *virala-innu*, *veyyil-innu*, etc. appear to be more frequent except in old forms with special meanings like അന്നമതലു് *aṇṇu mudala-kku* [contrast *മതലിന്നു* *mudalinnu* 'for the capital' or 'for the wealth'].

The datives of monosyllabic bases with long vowels and with the above finals -l, -ḷ and r showed both -innu and -kku in Old Mal: വേലിന്നു *vēlinnu* [KG], മാലിന്നു *mālinnu* [ib.], പാരിന്നു *pārinu* [ib.], പോക്കു *pōrkkku* beside പോരിന്നു *pōrinu* [E. Bh.], കല്ലു *kāḷḷu* [Bhāḍg.], കോളിന്നു *kōḷinnu* [KR, Ār., 98]. Apparently even in Old Mal. the augment -in- had begun to be frequently associated with these bases. In New Mal., and particularly in the modern colloquial, the ending -inu or innu has become quite common (except perhaps in some regional dialects), though old expressions like എത്രപേക്കു് *ēṭṭṭ-pēkkku* 'to how many persons' [contrast പേരിന്നു *pērinnu* 'for the name'] and മേല്ക്കുമേൽ *mēḷḷu* still continue to have -kk.

5. THE FIFTH CASE.

1. The Mal. termination *il-nīṇṇu* compounded of *il* and *nīṇṇu* [the past conj. participle of *nīl* 'to stand'] corresponds to the Early Middle Tam. fifth case ending *il-nīṇṇu*-[V, Vētt, 7]. Old Tamil had only -in to express the fifth case meanings [TC, 77]; *il-nīṇṇu* appears only in Early Middle Tamil texts.

2. Mal. *il-nīṇṇu* appears contracted as—*inṇu*,—*īṇṇu* and even as *nṇu*: വയറ്റിന്നു *vayaṭṭīṇṇu* [Kalyāṇ., gadya 5]; മേലിന്നു *mēlīṇṇu* [Bh Bh, I, p. 27], മനുഷ്യാനു *manaiḱṅṅṇu* [KU], വിട്ടിയന്നു *viṭṭiyannu* [TAS, V, p. 59, l. 3], അവിടുന്നു *aviduṇṇu*.

3. The association of the fifth case forms with ideas denoting 'fear', as in the following, does not appear to be strictly warranted by Dravidian syntactic rules; 'such constructions are expressly prohibited by the commentary on L, II, II

¹cf. the condemnation by the same commentary of usages like ഗ്രാമത്തെ ആവശ്യക്കർന്നാൻ [For അദ്ധ്യവസിച്ചു on p. 7, l. 32, read അധിവസിച്ചു.]

as foreign to Dravidian:—

ജ്വരത്തികൽനിന്നുള്ളഭയം jwarattiṅgalnīnṇuḷḷa bhayam [Bh Bh, 2, p. 94] ;

മലയമന്ദാക്ഷ മരണത്തികൽനിന്ന ഭയം ഉത്തമന്ദാക്ഷ അപമാനത്തിൽനിന്നു maraṇattiṅgalnīnṇu bhayam [E] Bh, p. 262] ;

ദുർമ്മതിപ്രഭുക്കളിൽ നിന്നുള്ള ഭയംദുർമ്മതി prabhuḥkaḷil nīnṇuḷḷa bhayam koṇḍu [Viṣṇ., p. 74] ;

തൃക്കയിലുള്ളൊരു ചക്രത്തിൽനിന്ന ഭയപ്പെട്ട് cakṛattiḷnīnṇu bhaya-p-petṭu [Naḷ. Kīḷip., p. 127 of Inter Sel.]

The Old Tam. grammar TC, 72, does provide for the use of the fifth case with añjal 'fearing', apart from the normal use of the second case; but the question whether this association of the fifth case with 'fear' may not have been due to the influence of Skt. requires to be investigated.

6. THE SIXTH CASE.

1. uḍe is the Mal. sixth case ending for all bases whose datives have—kk, while—d'e [<-n-(u)ḍe or <-in-(u)ḍe] is regular for those bases whose datives have -nu, -innu, or inu.

uḍe corresponds to the Early Middle Tamil ending uḍai mentioned in V, Vēṭṭ., 7. For the change of—ai to—e, cf. Malayāḷam vare <varai; iḍe < iḍai; paṇḍe > paṇḍai, etc. Old Tamil uḍai or uḍai-y-a had no sixth case meaning, but it was employed [cf. TC, 220] merely as a kuṛippu vinai, as in nīn-n-uḍaittu 'is in possession of you' [Puraṇānūru, verse 58]; cf. Malayāḷam പലതുമുണ്ടു ദശരഥൻ guṇam-uḍa [K R, Bāl., 12] where uḍa may be regarded (according to Tamil rules) as a kuṛippuvinaḷ peyareccam.

It is in Early Middle Tamil that uḍai and uḍai-y-a appear with a sixth case force. Malayāḷam uḍe is directly related to this ending, and nd'e is the resultant of the sandhi (in Malayāḷam) of -n or -in and {u,ḍe.

The earliest inscriptions of the west coast show only uḍe, uḍa, -iḍe or ḍe. The variants -iḍe and -ḍe reveal the weakening

(1) അവർക്കുടയ കരംക്കുകൾ [K Bhag, p 114] ഇവർക്കുടയ മരണത്തോ [ib., p. 74], തങ്ങൾ തങ്ങൾക്കുടയ [ib., p 68] show the sixth case ending used after the dative endings. "Vulgar" colloquials show this usage even to-day.

of u (of uḍe) in the unaccented position,—a weakening which brought about the sandhi change of -n+ḍ=nd' in those bases which either had final -n or which embodied the inflexional augment -in:—*വരിയനീടെ* *vāriyan-iḍe* [TAS, V, p. 82, l. 27—12th c.] *അവരിടെയ* *avar-iḍaya* [ib., IV, p. 46 ff.—12th c.]

L, I, 1 and II, 11 [commentaries] mention the sound, and I have found four instances of this ending in US:—*ciṭṭappand'e* [US, II, 15]; *tēnmāvind'e* [ib., II, 9]; *puṇyattind'e* [ib. I, 16]; *mulattottind'e* [ib., I, 119]. The earliest available west coast inscriptions of the 9th to the 12th centuries do not, so far as I can see, contain instances of this ending, with the alveolar d'; but it is possible that it had become fairly common in the popular speech from a much earlier period than the 13th century.

2. It is worthy of mention here that a sixth case relationship is brought out by the use of -in in instances like *pon-māḍatt-in-nīlāl* [US, II, 9] or *ṭṇatt-in-paidal* [K G, Kṛṣṇ., l. 525]; this -in occurs in other compounds also: *vaḍakk-in-kūru*, [US, II, 23]; *ponnuṅguḍam* < *pon-n-in-kuḍam* [Bh Bh 1, p. 19].

7. THE SEVENTH CASE.

1. *il* as a seventh case ending corresponds to Early Middle Tamil *il* mentioned in V, *Vētt.*, 7, and in N, 302. Old Tamil had no *il* [cf. TC, 81 and 82] as a locative ending.

2. *kal* or *in-kal* [in which latter -in- is the augment] is derivable from the Tamil postposition *kāl* [TC, 82 and N, 302]. Very early west coast inscriptions show *kāl*: *കോയൽക്കൽ* *kōyil-k-kāl* [TAS, IV, p. 15—10th c.], *ചിറവംതിൽക്കൽ* *vāḍil-k-kāl* [TAS, II, p. 81—10th c.]. *kōyilkkāl* later become *kōyilkkal* and *koyikkal* [cf. TAS, VII, p. 92], and *vāḍil-kkāl* later became *vāḍil-k-kal* or *vāḍukkal* [cf. *kōvilagattum-vāḍukkal* of KU].

3. *attu* with a locative force as in *തെരുവത്തു* *teruvattu* [RC, 69], *നീലാവത്തു* *nīlāvattu* [Bh Bh] appears not only in bases with final -am normally incorporating -att but also in others like *teruvu*, *nīlā*, etc. The use of *attu* is expressly sanctioned by TE for bases like *veyil* [TE, 378], *maḷai* [288], *iruḷ* [403] *viṇ* [306], *pani* 'cold season' [242], *vaḷi* [243]. The use of *attu* with a locative force was quite common in Early Middle Tamil. Malayālam inherited this feature and has preserved it wholly

down till to-day, while modern colloquial Tamil has ceased to have it.

4. Instances like കോഴിക്കോട്ടു ചെന്നു *kōlikkōṭṭu cenṇu*, കരയറുപോയ *karayāṭṭu pōy* show the so-called "gemination" of -ṭ- and -r- to convey a seventh case meaning. This "gemination" was primarily due to an ancient sandhi change arising from the meeting of ṭ and of r [see my HAP] with the augment-(a)tt-appearing, as has already been shown, with a seventh case force in *ṇilāvattu*, etc.

5. Forms like തിരമെ അടിനാൽ *tīramē* [KG, HL, l. 40], അകമെ *agamē*, പാമെ *paṇamē*, വഴിയെ *vaḷiyē* evidence an ē with a seventh case force. Here ē [also written sometimes short e] is primarily connected with the "emphatic" particle ē associated with a locative force in words like മുമ്പെ *mumbe*, പിമ്പെ *pimbe*, മേലെ *mēlē* [cf. chap. V § 7]. There may also have been some influence exerted by Skt. locatives like *dūre*, *maddhye*.

8. THE EIGHTH CASE.

1. Except the vocative types *makkāḷ* (of *makkāḷ*) and *vāyilāy* (of *vāyilān*) in which the vowels before the final consonants are altered or lengthened, all other vocative types of Tamil have their counterparts in Malayāḷam.

2. The history of the sambodhana ending- *uḷḷōvē* appearing so frequently in late Old Malayāḷam texts and occasionally in Early New Malayāḷam deserves to be traced here.

The earlier forms are-*uḷḷōṇē* and-*uḷḷōyē*:

മാലയമുറുറു മറുളളാണേ *māḷuḷḷōṇē* [KG, Ulukh.].

കണ്മറയമുളളാണേ *kaṇmāyamuḷḷōṇē* [ib., Hēm.].

മെയ്യകളളാണേ *meyyaḷag-uḷḷōṇē* [Kottār. Āṭṭ., p. 114].

According to a Tamil rule envisaged in N, 307, the vocative of *uḷḷōṇ* may appear as *uḷḷōy*. This principle accounts for Malayalam *uḷḷōy-ē* (in which ē is a vocative strengthener); *uḷḷōyē* appears in RC, K Bhāg., CBh:—അരക്കർകചത്തിൻ കായായുളളായേ *karayāy-uḷḷōyē* [RC, 646]; സൗമ്യനതായുളളായേ *saumyanadāy-uḷḷōyē* [KBhāg., p. 201]; സ്വാമിയായുളളായേ *svāmīyāy-uḷḷōyē* [CBh, p. 332]; വിരനായുളളായേ *vīranāy-uḷḷōyē* [CBh, p. 311].

The final-y of *uḷḷōy(ē)* appears to have been dropped [cf. the dropping of y in second personal *mariccā*, *varṇā*, *ceyvā* in

early Old Malayalam texts], and the dorsal glide *v* requisitioned after *ṛ*, with the result that *uṛṛ-v-ē* came into existence: ഭഗവതാലിനിയായുളളവേ [BhBh], ഭത്താവായുളളവേ [E] Bh], പരമശ്രേഷ്ഠനായിരിപ്പേവേ [Pr. Gr. Bh, p. 213]. As these instances show, *uṛṛvē* was employed originally only in connection with singulars, but later when the form became a *cliche* it was used in connection with plurals also, as in പവനതുല്യവേഗികളായുളളവേ pavanatulyavēgikaḷāy-uṛṛvē [VR, p. 83]

3. The sambodhana *edṛ* of Malayalam appears in connection with masculines and feminines, singulars and plurals, as a term of "familiarity" without any association of "inferiority" or "contempt", which *edā* (for masculines) and *edī* (for feminines) have in Tamil and in Malayalam. This *edṛ* does not occur, so far as I know, in Tamil. I have not come across this *edṛ* in Malayalam texts before the period of the campus and of Bh Bh.

എടോ കേകിലബലികേ *edṛ kōkilabālikē* [Rām. camp.

Sugr., 107]

എടോ അച്യുതാ *edṛ acyutā* [Bh Bh, 1, p. 119]

എടോ വിപ്രപത്നിമാരേ *edṛ viprapatnimārē* [ib., 1, p. 89]

എടോ കൈകേയി *edṛ kaikēyi* [E] Bh]

എടോ ദേവകളേ *edṛ dēvagalē* [Pr Gr Bh, p. 372]

മന്ദസന്നിധിയിൽ അണപ്പിനേടോ *aṇappin-edṛ* [OT, p. 442

-addressed by Rāvaṇa to the women-guards]

വെത്തിലമൃതാട്ടേടോ കുഞ്ഞിക്കനി [VPm, p. 172]

In modern colloquial Malayalam., it is rarely used for plurals. Further, in connection with feminines its use is restricted to regional dialects to-day.

9. THE DIRECTIVES

The dative ending *-k(-kk)* is associated with a 'directive force in several Dravidian speeches. Tamil *viṭṭ-ir-ku* 'to the house', *a-vv-iḍ-att-ir-ku* 'to that spot' illustrate this use. The terms for the cardinal directions, viz. *vaḍakku*, *kiḷakku*, *mēṛku*, contain this directive ending semi-permanently embodied in them.

This directive ending exists in Mal., as in several other Dravidian speeches.

1. In the earliest texts, forms like the following, normally evolved from older ones with-in-u-kku occur:— ഇവിടത്തിന്നു^o iviḍattinnu [KR, Kiṣk., 59], അവിടത്തിന്നു^o aviḍattinnu [ib., 295], ദിക്കിന്നുപോയാർ dikkinu [KR, Sund., 134]. This -innu or -inu occurs in the campus, in KG and even in E1 [e. g. തെക്കുദിക്കിൽ യാത്ര dikkinu in Rām. Camp., Añg; കാലപുരത്തിന്നു^o പോകാം Kālapurattinnu in E1 Rām., p. 125] Today, this directive-innu or -inu is heard in Travancore colloquials, as in വയ്ക്കത്തിന്നു^o പോകണം vaikkattinnu, എറണാകുളത്തിന്നു^o eṛaṇākuḷattinnu, i.e. in those contexts where the dative ending is innu or inu.

From about the sixteenth century, however, forms like വിട്ടിലേയ്ക്കു^o viṭṭilēkku, സ്ഥലത്തേയ്ക്കു^o sthalattēkku, ദിക്കിലേയ്ക്കു^o dikkiṅgalēkku, അതിലേയ്ക്കു^o adilēkku also begin to appear frequently. This type is not met with in the works of the Paṇikkars, in US, in L1 or even in KG, in all of which the corresponding forms show -innu or -inu if and when they occur at all. RC has ഇവിടേയ്ക്കു^o iviḍēkku [87] but in this text the type is rather rare. The type is abundantly represented in Bh Bh and also met with in some of the later campus and in E1. Today, the ending -ēkk is most common as a directive ending. It is constituted of ē [arising originally from an iṭṭasai ē as in adilē, or from tētt' ram ē used in connection with 'directions' or from the lengthening of e of forms like aviḍe < a-v-v iḍai], and the directive-kk.

2. The "conjunctive" past participle പെട്ടു^o peṭṭu [of peḍ-] is suffixed in Malayalam from the earliest times in a number of contexts to denote the "directival" idea; മേല്പെട്ടു^o mēlpeṭṭu; കീഴ്പെട്ടു^o kīlpeṭṭu [KG]; പുറത്തോട്ടു^o puṛatt-ōṭṭu [RC, 134] < puṛattupeṭṭu; അങ്ങോട്ടു^o aṅṅōṭṭu [E1 Bh]; പടിഞ്ഞാട്ടു^o paḍiñṇāṭṭu [KU] < paḍiñṇāṭōṭṭu < paḍiñṇāṭu-peṭṭu; കരോട്ടു^o karōṭṭu [modern.].

Forms like പുറത്തൂട്ടു^o puṛattūṭṭu [RC, 140] and അകത്തൂട്ടു^o agattūṭṭu [Bh Bh 1, p. 18] are semantically the same as puṛattōṭṭu and agattōṭṭu, though structurally [perhaps owing to "contamination" with forms like agattūḍe and pūṅḡvil-ūḍe which are locatives with the postposition ūḍe meaning 'along' 'through'] they show -ū-.

The original sense of പെട്ടു^o peṭṭu disappeared very early in these contexts, and the development -ōṭṭu having been

associated from an early time with the directive idea came to be used directly in forms like *aññōṭṭu*, *paḍiññāṭṭu* and *karōṭṭu*, and even in *kiṭṭōṭṭ-ē-kku* [E]. Cint., p. 28]

3. *nōṭkki*, the conjunctive past participle of *nōṭkk-* 'to observe', exists in old *aññōṭkki* 'in that direction,' *പിന്നോക്കി* *pinnōṭkki* [Bhāg Daś., p. 273], *ചോരക നോക്കിനടന്നു* *dwāraka nōṭkki nāḍanṇu* [KG, Kucēl. l. 71], *അങ്ങനോക്കി* *aññu nōṭkki* [ib., Saubh., l. 728], *നാടുനോക്കി പോകുന്നെൻ* [ib., Sant., l. 34]

4. *ആയ്ക്കൊണ്ടു* *āykkonḍu* [associated with the dative; see § 11] is used with a directive force in the earlier texts:—

തേരിലങ്ങൊണ്ടുപോഞ്ഞു *tērilāññāykkonḍu pāññu* [KG, Rugm., l. 985.]

ദണ്ഡകാരത്തിനൊയ്ക്കൊണ്ടു *ḍanḍakārattinn-āykkonḍu* [E]. Rām., p. 72], *വനത്തിനൊയ്ക്കൊണ്ടുനളുകിൽ* *vanattinn-āykkonḍu* [Rām., p. 45].

5. *ആമ്മാറു* *āmmāru* demotes a "directive" meaning in RC, KG and E]:—*വാതിലുലാമ്മാറു* *vadilkkalāmmāru* [RC, 134], *രാജ്യത്തിലാമ്മാറു* *rājayttilāmmāru* [KG, Vrkās.], *മുറ്റത്തിലാമ്മാറു* *muṭṭattilāmmāru* [ib., Kṛṣṇōlp., l. 713].

അന്തഃപുരത്തിലാമ്മാറു *antahpurattil-āmmāru* [E]. Rām. p. 128], *അയോദ്ധ്യാക്കാമ്മാറങ്ങു* *ayodhyakk-āmmāru* [ib., p. 23].

10. THE UNIQUE MAL. PHRASAL UNIT OF THE TYPE OF കാട്ടിലേ ആന AND THE QUALIFICATORY *ē* OF MAL.

From about the fifteenth century onwards, the texts show more or less frequently a unique Mal. phrasal unit in which the first constituent with a locative ending, followed by the particle *ē*, stands in direct relationship to the *viśeṣya* that forms the second constituent of the phrasal unit. In this unique Mal-construction the particle *ē* is annexed to the locative in order to convey the idea of a verb like *ഉള്ളു* *ulla* which is not expressed; and the locative form (along with *ē*) and the noun (or pronoun) following it together form a compound unit which may be "declined".

The type referred to above is constituted of a locative inflexional form with *il-ē*, *-iñ-gal-ē* or *-att-ē*, immediately followed by the *viśeṣya*. *att-ē* appears to have been so constantly and

frequently associated with this qualificatory meaning that it was isolated as a sort of suffix and used even after verbs at in വന്നാലത്തേക്കഥ *varṇālatte-k-katha*. [See (iii) below].

It is interesting to note that this *ē* appearing after locatives and directives has also been used with a genitive force in some contexts [See v below.]

(i) അവനിലേ സ്നേഹം *avanilē snēham* [Lil., II, 11, comm.]
വായിലേ നന്മനി *vāyilē nanmaṇi* [KG, Rugm, l. 1071].
വീട്ടിലെ പൈതങ്ങൾ *viṭṭilē paidaṇṇaḷ* [ib.]
ജലത്തിലേക്കാരറ *jalattilē-k-kāṭṭu* [Bh Bh, 1, p. 65].

[Note the doubling of the plosive-k-, which attests the intimacy of the association of the constituents; this gemination is not always represented in writing].

കൃഷ്ണന്റെ വായിലേ ചർച്ചിതരംബലം *kṛṣṇand'e vāyilē carṇida tām̐būlam* [Bhāg, Daś, p. 256].

വയലിലേക്കുറം *vayalilē-k-kandam* [TAS, IV, p. 163].

പള്ളിലേ വികാരി *paḷḷilē vigāri* [TAS, III, p. 81].

വരണായത്തിങ്കലേ ഐശ്വര്യം *varuṇālayattiṅgalē aiśvaryam* [Bh Bh, 1, p. 104].

(ii) ദൂരത്തേ വീട്ടിലേ *dūratte viṭṭilē* [KG, Ulūkh., l. 800]
അപ്പാട്ടേ പൈതങ്ങൾ *appāṭṭē-p-paidaṇṇaḷ* [ib.]
ഇടത്തേക്കച്ചിൽ *iḍattē-k-kayyil* [Bh Bh, 1, p. 54]
വലത്തേനേത്രം *valattē nētram* [E., Cint., p. 27]
അവിടത്തേ നമ്പൂരി *aviḍattē nāmbūri* [KU]

(iii) ചാരത്തേ വീട്ടിലേ *cāratte viṭṭilē* [KG, Ulūkh, l. 799];
ഇന്നത്തേ *innāttē* [Naiṣ. camp. 95], പിന്നത്തേക്കോപ്പ് [ib.]; ഇ
പ്പോഴത്തേതിലും *ippōḷattēdilum* [Girij., p. 51]; കൊമ്പത്തേയ്ക്കു
kombattekkū [Vetaḷ]; ഇതിലത്തേപ്പാത്രം or ഇതിലേത്തേപ്പാത്രം
iḍil-ette-p-pātram; പിന്നേത്തേക്കായ്ക്കും *pinnatte-k-kāryam*; ഒ
രണ്ടത്തേനികുതി *oraṇḍēttē nigudi*; വന്നാലത്തേക്കഥ *varṇālatte-k-katha*; വരമ്പോഴത്തേ സംഗതി *varumbōḷattē saṅgādi*; അങ്ങന
ത്തേ ആൾ *aṅṅānattē āḷ*.

(iv) കൈതയ്ക്കോട്ടേ കവലയദ്രവംപാട്ട് *kaidakkāṭṭē kuvalaya dr̥ṣām pāṭṭu* [US, I, 117]

കോഴിക്കോട്ടേയ്ക്കു *kōḷikkōṭṭē-s-sabha* [modern]

(v) The forms with *ē* in the following have a genitive force;—

നാട്ടാരേ വീട്ടിലെ *nāṭṭārē viṭṭilē* [K G, Vals., l. 1568]

അങ്ങരോടൊപ്പം *aṅṅē bhrātāvū* [Bh Bh, 2, p. 55]

ഉണോരേ ഭാഗ്യം *uṇmōrē bhāgyam* [MP, No. 171]

പിള്ളരേമോഹം *pillārē mōham* [Proverbs]

അവളേപുത്രൻ *avalē putran* [OT, Dhruva; p. 208 of Inter Selections]

അങ്ങ അച്ഛനും *aṅṅē acchanum* [OT, Sabhā]

Such instances are common in VPm:—അവളെ ബന്ധു [p. 26]; ഓളെ വമ്പത്തരം [p. 7], ചെമ്മാളെ ഭണ്ഡാരം [p. 35], നായരെപേരു [p. 125], ഓരൊചിലവ [p. 144], etc.

In (i), the particle *ē* appears after the locative endings *il* and *ingal*; in (ii), it occurs after *-att-* appearing in bases having final-*am*; in (iii), *attē* is transferred to forms where *-att-* cannot crop up as an inflexional augment at all, and in *വന്നാലത്തേക്കഥ* *vanṇālatiē-k-katha* even to a verb-form *vanṇāl*; (iv) shows *ē* after the geminated *ṭṭ* of certain place-names or house-names; (v) is peculiar in as much as here the relationship becomes genitive.

The *ē* of group (i) may originally have arisen from the Tamil ഇടറക്കൈ *iṭṭāśai* or terminative expletive *ē* [see N, 354 and TC, 257] associated normally in constructions like the following so constantly and intimately as to lead to the isolation of phrasal units: ശ്രീപണ്ടാരത്തിലേ നെൽ അളന്നു *śrī paṇḍārattilē nel aḷanṇu* [TAS, IV, p. 19]; ഗക്കത്തളയെന്നു എന്നെ മന്നിലേ മാലോ കർ ചൊല്ലിപ്പോതു *śakuntalāyennṇu enne mannilē māḷōgar colli-p-pōrū* [CBh, p. 291]; മാരുതപുത്രന്റെ വിരത ഇങ്ങിനെ പാരിലേ മാലോ കർ വാഴ്ത്തുന്നേരം *māruda putrand'ē vīrata inṅane pārilē māḷōgar vāḷttunṇēram* [CBh, p. 321].

Here, the locatives *śrīpaṇḍārattil-ē*, *mannilē*, *pāril-ē* containing the terminative expletive *ē*, normally govern the respective verbs following; but the association with the nouns immediately following, may lead to the isolation of compounds like *śrī paṇḍārattilē nel*, *mannilē māḷōgar*, *pārilē māḷōgar*, which phrasal units could be independently employed with the meanings 'the paddy in the government treasury' 'the people in the world'.

This ē may have been then transferred to -att- appearing with a locative force in (ii) above.

In (iii), -att-ē- appears as an āgama by analogy, in instances in which the augment -att- is not normal.

The ē of (iv) after the geminated final locative .tt [< d + tt, see my HAP] may be compared to (ii) above.

[Note:—the e or ē in the following categories is not related to the ē under reference in this section.

- (a) പിതൃനാമം pitṭe-n-nā] or pitṭēr-nā] [with lengthening on account of accent.]

പഞ്ചകാലം paṇḍē-k-kālam

മാതൃക്കാര്യം mattēkkāryam

pitṭe, paṇḍe and mattē here correspond to Tamil pitṭai, paṇḍai and mattai. For Malayalam e and Tamil ai, cf. Malayalam vare [Tamil varai], uḍe [Tamil uḍai], iḍe [Tamil iḍai] and the Malayalam acc. ending e [Tamil ai].

- (b) വടക്കേമുറി vaḍakke muṛi [TAS, III, p. 81]

കിഴക്കേമ്പിടി kiḷakkē n'ambidi [KU]

കിഴച്ചുണ്ടു kiḷē-c-cuṇḍu [Bh Bh]

ഇങ്ങപ്പുറത്തു inṇēppurattu

Here, the ē is originally long, being the tetram ē used in connection with "direction-denoters" [cf. മുമ്പെ mumbe, പിമ്പെ pimbe].

- (c) The e of ഏകകാലം ēre-k-kālam or ērēkkālam, വളരെ വലു വാലാ വേലം valāre dravyam (originally short but sometimes lengthened owing to accent) is the old infinitive participial e [< ə < a]; ēra, valāra were old infinitive participles which were later used in Malayalam with an "adjectival" force [See Ch. IV].

II. POSTPOSITIONS.

Postpositions which by frequent use have almost developed into regular "case"-endings have already been dealt with by me above. Here, I shall refer to few "loose" postpositions of Malayalam and their particularities.

1. കുറിച്ചു kuriccu ["conj" participle of kurikk-], തൊട്ടു toṭṭu ["conj." part-of toḍ] and കൊണ്ടു koṇḍu ["conj." part-of kol] are used in the old texts in second case contexts. The use

of tottu and konḍu with the meaning 'concerning' is non-existent in modern Malayālam, kuṛiccu or paṭṭi being common wherever a postposition is felt as necessary.

Some examples of tottu and konḍu used in the earlier texts with a second case force are the following:—ഇതുതൊട്ടു വിവേകം idu tottu [RC, 62]; വെണ്ണയും പാലും തൊട്ടുള്ള കൊതി tottuḷla kodi [KG, Ulū, l. 219]; വഞ്ചനംതൊട്ടുള്ളൊരു ചൊല്ലു [ib., l. 490]; ഞങ്ങളെത്തൊട്ടു [Rām. camp., Bālivadh. gadya]; കൃഷ്ണനെക്കൊണ്ടു പറഞ്ഞു kṛṣṇane-k-konḍu [KG. Tirth., l. 28]; എന്നതുകൊണ്ടുള്ള വാത്കൾ konḍuḷla [ib., Saubh., l. 679]; രാമനെക്കൊണ്ടു പറഞ്ഞതു നിന്നുടെ അല്ലെച്ചൊരി രāmane-k-konḍu paraññadu [VR, p. 214].

tottu and konḍu, today, are postpositions signifying respectively 'beginning from' and the third case idea.

Skt. prati is used as a "second case" postposition in instances like അവളെപ്രതി മുഴുത്തിത്തരണം avaḷe prati [K Bh, p. 139], ചതികൾ അവനെപ്രതി പറഞ്ഞു avane prati [ib., p. 140], നമ്മെപ്രതി namme prati [ib., p. 64]; കോപവുംമാം പ്രതി വലിക്കും mām prati [E]. Bh, p. 32]; ലോകം നമ്മെപ്രതി എത്രയും സന്തോഷിക്കും namme prati [Kirāt. kīp., 1, l. 102].

2. konḍu as a postposition expresses chiefly the ideas of 'agency' or 'instrumentality' in Malayālam. In Middle Tamil it is very frequent, but rare in Old Tamil though kaṇai konḍu in Puṛaṇānuṟu, verse 55, may be considered to be an instance in which the original participial meaning has just begun to suffer semantic discoloration.

Skt. nimittam, mūlam, hetu are also employed in Malayālam to express 'agency' or 'instrumentality'.

uḍan expressing 'sociality' occurs in some of the early texts [RC]; but it has gone out of use in modern Malayālam in which kūḍe preceded either by the simple base or by its genitive form, is common.

Participles¹ like ഒരമിച്ചു orumiccu, ഒന്നിച്ചു onṇiccu are also used to denote 'sociality'.

1 ഒക്കെ okke in the sense of കൂടെ occurs in Bh Bh.—യതോദയം രോഹിണിയും ഒരു ചാട്ടിന്മേൽ കരേറി രാമകൃഷ്ണന്മാരോടൊക്കെ [1, p. 41].

āy is used with the meaning of *kūḍe* in instances like the following :—

ഇരുവതമായ^o *iruvarumāy* [K Bhāg., p. 177]; സാഗ്രജനം^o നിജസഖികളുമായേ *sāgrajanum sakhikaḷum āyē* [K Bhāg. p. 77]; തമ്പിയുമായേ *tampiyumāyē* [K R, Ār., 19] This use of *āy* exists in Middle and Modern Tamil.

3. വേണ്ടി *vēṇḍi*, ആയ^o *āy*, ആയ^oക്കൊണ്ടു *āykkonḍu* [L, II, 11, comm.] are postpositions reinforcing the fourth case signification.

It may be noted in connection with *āyi* or *āy* that in literary Tamil the infinitive participle *āga* is considered more appropriate in contexts corresponding to the above : *ivanukk - āga - k - koḍuttān* 'he gave to this man'; but the use of *āyi* or *āy*, the conjunctive participle, instead of the infinitive participle is due to an extended application of the principle envisaged by N, 346 in certain contexts [cf. Chap IV, 7], though *āy* is not regarded in Tamil as a postposition proper.

4. പോക്കൽ *pōkkaḷ* as a variant of പക്കൽ *pakkaḷ* [cf. Middle Tam. *pakkaḷ* mentioned by V and occurring in Early Middle Tam. as, for instance, in SII, III, p. 95] and പോക്കൽ നിന്നു *pōkkaḷ ninnu* occur in the campus, in BhBh, E₁, Cāṇakky and in VR.

ദിനമാർ പോക്കൽ ആക്കിട്ടു *dīnamār pōkkaḷ* [Rām. camp., Aṅg., 14]; ആർ പോക്കൽ *ār pōkkaḷ* [ib., Aṅg]; കംസൻപോക്കൽ നിന്നുള്ള യം *Kamsan pōkkaḷ ninnuḷḷa bhayam* [Bh Bh]; രാഘവൻ പോക്കൽനിന്നു *rāghavan pōkkaḷ ninnu* [E₁ Rām.]; തമ്പോക്കൽ *tambōkkaḷ* [E₁ Harinām.]; മദയം ചത്രവം സിദ്ധാർത്ഥൻ പോക്കൽ നല്ലി *madayam cattravam siddhārthan pōkkaḷ* [Cāṇakky.]; ഇതാതികൾ പോക്കൽ പോലുള്ളയം *itātikal pōkkaḷ pōluḷḷa bhayam* [VR, p. 334].

pōkkaḷ does not, however, exist in the earliest texts or in the present-day colloquial where only *pakkaḷ* and *pakkaḷ ninnu* are used.

pōkkaḷ looks like a new formation used from the 15th to the 17th centuries, as a variant of *pakkaḷ* which in structure (except for the *ō*) resembles it.

5. Some of the unique Mal. postpositions with a seventh case force are the following:—

(i) *iḍa* or *iḍe* [cf. Tam. *iḍai* as a postposition] as in *kān-iḍa* [KR, Ār., 91], *māṇiḍe* [KG, Rugm.], *māṇiḍe* [Bhāg. Daś., p. 158], *kaṇṇiḍe* [OT, p. 645] has gone out of fashion in the modern period as a postposition proper.

(ii) *ūḍe* [from *ūḍu* 'centre' 'middle'] has been a very active postposition in Mal. from the earliest period:— *pūṅḡavilūḍe* [US]. cf. Early Middle Tam. *ūḍe* [Tiruvāy. p. 64]

(iii) *anayattu* as in *anayattu cennu* [KR, Ār., 82] also does not exist today, though literary texts show it in many contexts.

(iv) *cārattu* which appears so frequently in KG and CBh and occasionally in E₁ and other Mal. texts is not actively current in the modern colloquial, so far as I can see.

(v) *ēl*, as in *kaṭuttēl* [KR, Ār., 196], *puṣpakavimānattēl* 'on the puṣpakavimāna' [Rām Camp. Udyāna, 34], *puraiyeḍattēl* [beside *puraiyeḍattinmēl*] in an early inscription [TAS, II, p. 197], *kaṇṇēl* [JKA, I, p. 279], *kombēl* [OT, p. 233] appears to be a contraction of *mēl* [or-in-mēl] 'on the top of' It is significant that this postpositional affix which is very old and which is expressly pointed out in the commentary on the 11th sutra of the second śilpa in the 14th century grammar L, is current today in certain areas in Travancore.

The *ēl* appearing in the instances in VPM like *pīṭiyēl* [p. 75=*pīṭikayil*], *kaṇṇēl* [= *kaṇṇayil*], *kaṇṇēl* [p. 63=*kaṇṇayil*] is of course different.

6. It deserves to be noted here that most of the native postpositions of Mal. correspond to Early Middle Tam. forms used either loosely or rigidly with postpositional significations. *paṭṭi*, *kuṟittu*, *koṇḍu*, *vēṇḍi*, *pakkal*, *iḍai*, *cār*, are all Early Middle Tam. forms. Among these, *pakkal*, *iḍai*, *cār* and others denoting the locative idea, are recognized by the old indigenous grammars [cf. V, Vēṇḍi, 7, comm.] as "postpositional", while the others [conjunctive participles originally] are used in texts

with more or less a "loose" postpositional force. Okka [originally the infinitive participle of okk 'to agree with' 'to suit, fit'] has in Tam. the meanings 'in company with' [cf. okkappāḍ 'to sing in unison'] 'plentifully' and 'equally'; toṭṭu [originally the conjunctive participle of toḍ--'to touch'] has in Tam. texts the significations 'from' [cf. Mal.], while in regional colloquials it means 'regarding' or 'concerning' [cf. Old Mal.]

12. COMPARISONAL ENDINGS

Old Tam. employed -in of the fifth case with its ellai-p-poruḷ or nīkka-p-poruḷ to convey the comparisonal meaning.

Middle Tamil had il and ilum and also kāṭṭil (um), pārkkil (um). In colloquial Tam., viḍa, pārkkā, preceded by the second case, is common.

Mal. has the following.—

1. The ending -il which Gundert equates to the locative -il but which it would perhaps be more reasonable to regard as the Early Middle Tam. descendant of old Tam. fifth case-in with the signification of nīkkam. [cf. എല്ലാറ്റിനും നല്ലതു ellāṭṭin-um nalladu in BhBh]; പണ്ടതിൽ പത്തൊട്ടിച്ചു paṇḍēdil patt-iratticcu [Rām. camp. Aṅg]; മുന്നതിലും അധികം munnēdilum adhikam [KR, Bāl., 283]; മുന്നതിൽ ഏറും munnēdil ēṭṭam [KG, Sālv., l. 8c]. ധരണിയൽ വാഴകയിൽ നല്ല മരണം dharanī-y-il vāḷga-y-il nallu maraṇam [E] Bh]; ഇതിൽ അധികം idil adhikam [OT]; അതിൽ പലതു adil valudu [KU].

2. kāḷ [←perhaps kāṇil; cf. kāṇe below]: പണ്ടക്കാരോ paṇḍē-k-kāḷ, പണ്ടതിൽക്കാരോ paṇḍēdil-k-kāḷ [US, 2, 68], പണ്ടതിനേക്കാരോ paṇḍēdinē-k-kāḷ [US, 1, 134]—ഇതിൽക്കാരോ idil-k-kāḷ [BhG] and [Naiṣ. camp.]; ഇതേക്കാരോ idē-k-kāḷ [ib.], എന്നേക്കാരോ ennē-k-kāḷ [KG, Rugm., 539].

3. kāḷil [a variant of kāṇil]

രിപുവനെക്കുള്ളിൽ ripuvine-k-kāḷil [Cānaky].

4. kāṭṭil, quite common from the earliest times, is mentioned in L, II, 11.

5. kāyil—ചന്ദനക്കായിൽ candune-k-kāyil [VP]

എന്നെക്കായിലും enne-k-kāyilum [CAR, V, p. 12]

എന്നെക്കായിലും പ്രിയനായ enne-k-kāyilum [VR, p. 301]

എന്നെക്കായിൽ enne-k-kāyil [Pāṭṭ.]

6. kāṇe—ബാപ്പ നടുത്തീയതിനെക്കാണെ bāppa nṇaḍattiyadine-k-kāṇe [cited by Gundert from ṭippuppāṭṭu]

13. AUGMENTS.

The incorporation of certain particles as augments between bases and inflexional terminations and between the constituents of word-compounds is a characteristic feature of most Dr. languages [see my DS for a comparative discussion].

The augments met with in Mal. are the following:— -in-; -am-; a mere nasal; -aṭṭ-, -iṭṭ-; and -att-. Among these, -in- and att- are used both in inflexions and in samāsas; the mere nasal and -am appear only in samāsas; and -aṭṭ-, -iṭṭ- crop up before inflexional endings of the “neuter” plurals ava, iva, cila, pala and ellā.

The Augment-in

The chief rules relating to this augment in inflexional positions are the following:—

(i) It appears compulsorily in the datives and the genitives of bases with final u [= Tamil muṭṭriyalugaram u], and final ə, ū and ā; in the accusatives and the instrumentals of these bases, the augment is optional.

(ii) It fails to appear in the datives and genitives of bases with final -i, ī and a [< ai or palatal a]; in the accusatives and in the instrumentals, the augment may optionally appear in old Mal. [cf. Kaṇṇaṣṣan’s sīta-y-in-āḷ, māya-y-in-e, etc.]

(iii) Bases with final “person”-denoting n, ḷ and r do not take on the augment; those with final -y do not have the augment except optionally in the second and the third “cases” and dialectally in datives and genitives; monosyllabic bases with short vowels and final l, ḷ, n, ṇ, r invariably embody the augment in the datives and the genitives; monosyllabic bases with long vowels and final l, ḷ, r (other than the “person”-denoting ḷ, r mentioned above) embodied the augment only optionally for datives and genitives in old Mal., but in new Mal. the augment is most common for these “cases”; dissyllabic bases with final consonants (other than the “person”-denoters) had no augment for the datives and the genitives in old Mal. and early new Mal., but today the colloquials generally embody the augment.

(iv) Plurals do not generally take on the augment though exceptional instances like പദ്യങ്ങളിനാൽ *padyaṅṅal-in-aḷ* [BhG, I, 6] exist.

(v) The augment generally does not appear before the seventh case il; but early old Mal. has a few instances like the following, evidencing a usage corresponding to that which cropped up in early Middle Tam.—പൊഴുതിനിൽ *poḷud-in-il* [RC, 90]; നെറിയനിൽ *neṟi-y-in-il* [TAS, IV, p. 125]; വെലികല്ലിനിൽ *veli kallinil* [TAS, IV, p. 17]; അതിനിൽ [TAS, II, p. 186 —190th. c.] cf. early Middle Tam. *i-m-mann-ulag-in-il* [Tiruvāymolī].

The use of the augment -in-before the fifth case-in-is expressly disapproved by TE, 132; but when in early Middle Tam. the locative il “cropped up,” the augment was sometimes embodied before this il.

(vi) The augment -in-is constant and compulsory in the inflexional endings of *adu* and *idu* and of the numerals. Old Tam. had -an-as the augment here [cf. T E, 177, 195], while Middle Tam. had -in-:—*ond'-in* [TAS, II, p. 49].

(vii) The use of the augment-in- for Mal. inflexional endings is of the utmost significance in connection with the formation of datives and genitives. I shall show below how the preference and the exclusion of the augment in Mal. inflexional positions was intimately connected with early Middle Tam. practice.

Old Tam.	Early Middle Tam.	Mal.
Bases with final <i>ā</i> , <i>u</i> , <i>ū</i> [T E, 174]—augment -in- most common.	As in old Tam., except for the optional dropping of the augment in the Acc. and Instr.	Augment constant and compulsory in the Dat. and the Gen.; optional in the Acc. and the Instr.
Bases with final <i>-ē</i> —augment most common [T E, 174].	Optional only	Bases rare; but old Mal. <i>pē</i> takes augment optionally.

Bases with final -u. —Augment compulsory [T E, 196]	Optional for Acc. and Instr., but common in the Dat. and the Gen.	Compulsory for the Gen. and the Dat.
Bases with final -i and -ai [Mal. a]—optional [TE, 203].	Augment generally avoided	Augment never used.
Bases with final -am. —augment - in - after -att-optional.	-in-after the <i>ādeśa</i> -att- common in the Dat. and the Gen.	Compulsory for the Dat. and the Gen.
Monosyllabic bases with short radical vowels and final consonants—optional augment—[T E, 203].	Augment generally used.	Augment always used for the Dat. ¹ and the Gen.
Monosyllabic bases with long radical vowels and final consonants—optional augment [T E, 203]	Option	Optional for the Acc. and the Instr.—for the Dat. ² optional in Old Mal. [cf. <i>pōrinu</i> and <i>pōrkku</i>], but augment more or less general in modern Mal.; [kālinnu, but rarely also <i>kālkku</i> in regional colloquials]; for the genitive, the augment is common.
Dissyllabic bases with final consonants (other than -m).—Optional [T E, 203].	Optional.	Optional for the Acc. and the Instr.—Datives had generally no augment in Old Mal.; but in New Mal. the augment came to be used frequently; today the augment is commonly used in the Dat. and the Gen.

¹ Both കൈയ്യും and കയ്യിൻ are heard today, the difference being 'dialectal'; but the genitive കയ്യിൻ appears to be far more common than കയ്യുടെ.

² The datives നായ്ക്കും, പായ്ക്കും and the genitives നായുടെ, പായുടെ are common in modern speech. The genitive നായ്യിൻ [cf. MP, No. 526] is heard in proverbs today.

Person-denoters like Augment Augment never
avaḷ, avar, etc. and never used. used.
plurals with kaḷ.—
Augment never used.

2. The augment -in- appears in Mal. compounds, as in Tam:—പൊൻമാടത്തിൻ നിഴൽ *ponmāḍatt-in-niḷal* [US, II, 9], വടക്കിൻ കൂട് *vāḍakk-in-kūru* [US, II, 23,—modern *vadakkuṅ-gūru*, -in-changing to -un- in the unaccented position], കിഴക്കിൻ ചിറയ്ക്ക *kiḷakk-in-ciṛaikk* [US, II, 30], നാലുതിൻ കണ്ടൈയ് *nāḷpad-in-kaḷainju* [TAS, II, p. 47].

The augment -am-

Though not very frequent in Mal., this augment exists in instances like മലംപാമ്പ് *malam-bāmbu* and ആലമ്പുവ് *ālam-būvu*. TE for Tamil prescribes it for compounds involving *puḷi* [245] etc.

The mere nasal

This perhaps is the “reduced” form of one of the preceding augments. L, III, 12 specifically refers to it:—പുത്തൻ *pū-n-dēn*, പളികറി *puḷi-ṇ-gari*, പമ്പട്ട *pū-m-baṭṭu*.

The augment -aṭṭ-(iṭṭ)

TE refers to it as -*vaṭṭ*—but N isolates it as -*aṭṭ*—[See my DS]. This augment appears in the “case”-endings of *ava*, *iva*, *cila*, *pala* and *ellā*. In Early Middle Tamil and in Old Mal., the augment assumes the form -*iṭṭ*-also in connection with *ava* and *iva*.

അവയിരിക്കലും *avayiṭṭiṅgalum* [US, I, 17]

അവയിരിക്കടെ *avayiṭṭinuḍe* [KR, Kiṣk., 219]

ചെറിയവയിരിക്കുക *ceṛiyavayiṭṭinukku* [K Bhāg, p. 54]

ഇവിരിക്ക *iviṭṭinu* [TAS, II, p. 173]

ഇവയിരുന്ന *ivayiṭṭōḍu* [K Bhāg., p. 60]

പലരിക്ക *palatṭiṇium* [Bhāg, p. 10]

എല്ലാവരെയും *ellāvaṭṭe* [Kucēl. Vañji, l. 213]

Both *ivaiyaṭṭ*-, *avaiyaṭṭ*-and *ivaṭṭ*-, *avaṭṭ*-are allowed by TE [cf. 178 and 184]; the former persisted in literature down till Early Middle Tam. and Early Old Mal. *avaṭṭ* and *ivaṭṭ* were more popular afterwards. Beside *avaṭṭ*-and *ivaṭṭ*-, inflexional forms (without the augment) like *ava-y-uḍe*, *ava-y-āl*, *avaikku* also gained currency. Today, the colloquial uses these last-mentioned inflexional forms of *ava* and *iva* normally, the old *avaṭṭ*-being

limited to contexts implying "contempt" [with reference to 'irrationals', as well as to "humans" when regarded with contempt]. Further, new nominatives *ivaṭṭa*, *avaṭṭa* [in some colloquials today] and *ivaṭṭiṇṇaḷ iṭṭiṇṇaḷ*, *avaṭṭaṇṇaḷ* [certain British Malabar colloquials] have been formed from the inflexional stem. *Bhīṣm.* has *ivaṭṭa* [pp. 64 and 67] used as nominatives with reference to "irrationals".

avaṭṭagaḷ-uḍe [Bh Bh, 2, p. 39] and *ivaṭṭagaḷe-k-konḍu* [ib., 2, p. 40] presuppose similar nominatives with *-gaḷ* (the plural affix).

Cilatt- and *palatt-* have ceased to be actively current in the present-day colloquial, but *ellatt-* is quite an exclusive inflexional stem for *ellā*. The augment was, however, omitted in the old literary form *ellāyilum* [RC, 407; Rām. camp.; Bhāg. Daś, etc.].

The augment -att-

-att-, as a rule, is inserted in the "case"-terminations of noun-bases with final *-am*, as in *mar-att-il*, etc. In the older texts, however, instances like *തിരമം* *tīram-ōḍu* [KR, Ār., 157], *നലമം* *nālam-ōḍu* [E. Bh] exist without the augment. Skt. words adapted in Mal. with an original or a new final *-am*, also take on the augment *-att-* in their "case"-terminations, but here again there are numerous instances without the augment.

-att- sometimes crops up as a result of "popular" analogy, as in *അടിയത്തിന്നു* *aḍiyattinnu* [Pūṇḍānam's *Santānagō*], *അടിയത്തോടു* *aḍiyattōḍu* [beside *അടിയന്നു* *aḍiyanṇu* and *അടിയനോടു* *aḍiyanōḍu*]. Even the "popular" noun *kūṭṭān* derived from the inf. participle, takes on, in the "vulgar" colloquial, *-att-* sometimes, as in *കൂട്ടത്തിന്നു*.

-att- appears in compounds like the following:—old *kapikulatt-araṣan*, *āyiratt-āṇḍu*; *kuvaḷatt-ila*, *ēlatt-ari*.

The use of *-attu* with a locative meaning without any affix or postposition following it, and of *attē* with a qualificatory value [unique Mal.] in phrasal units has already been adverted to.

Augments in Tam, and Mal.

It would be useful to sum up here the important differences between Tam. and Mal. in the use of augments in general:—

(1) While all the augments of Mal. exist in Tam., Mal. lacks the following Tam. augments:

on [TE, 181], an [TE, 177], the so-called -ikk- and -akk- [TE, 127, 128].

(2) The rules regarding the use of -in- in inflexional positions became fixed in Mal. more or less (i.e. with due allowance made for "regional" variations) according to the usage current in the Early Middle Tam. period [see above].

(3) Mal. -itt- in pad-itt-āṇḍu, etc. is the same as the Tam. augment; but -itt- in ivitt-, avayitt- of Old Mal. follows the colloquial of Early Middle Tam., current in the west coast.

(4) The developments avattā, avattagaḷ, ivattā, ivattagaḷ are unique in Mal.

(5) While modern colloquial Tam. has lost the augment -in- in inflexional positions [the process perhaps started in the colloquial very early, since forms like adukku, peṇṇ-u-kku were already common in the Middle Tam. period] and also att for avai and ivai, colloquial Mal. has permanently retained -in- regularly in the inflexions of the types shown in the list above, and att also in avattā, avattagaḷ, etc.

14. PLURALS.

The general rules of plural formation in Mal. are more or less the same as those of Tam. A few features, however, merit mention (or discussion) here.

1. The use of the plural ending -kaḷ- was in Old Tam. restricted to "irrationals" and even here only optionally [cf. TC, 169 and 171]; but in early Middle Tam. [cf. V, Vētt., 2] this plural ending was used for "rationals" also. Mal. agrees with Early Middle Tam. in this respect, since forms like rājākkaḷ, vasukkaḷ, asurargaḷ, avargaḷ, bhrātakkaḷ are all common in the earliest Mal. texts and inscriptions.

2. The plural ending mār, employed primarily with a connotation of "dignity" (but in later stages used in instances like cōranmār, etc. also) is most active in Mal. today, while in modern colloquial Tam. it is restricted to regional dialects.

Mal. instances like rājakkanmār, gurukkanmār [Tam. gurukkan-mār where ṇ is the sandhi-changed representative of] of kaḷ] owe their n to analogy with the n of araśanmār, kumāranmār, etc.

The *n* of നായനാർ *nāyanmār*, പട്ടനാർ *paṭṭanmār*, അമ്മയൻ *ammayānmar* [cf. merely honorific *ammayār* in US, 2, 15] is also analogically introduced here in the stead of original *r* [of *ār* or *ar*, the honorific ending of *nāyar*, *paṭṭar* and *ammayār*.]

The following with double and triple plural endings are peculiar:— പിതാക്കന്മാർകൾ *pidākkannmārgal* [K Bhāg, p. 246], നരപതിമാർകൾ *narapatimārgal* [BhG, 1, 8], പരദേവതമാർകൾ *para-dēvatamārgal* [Paḍap.], അടികൾമാർ *aḍigalmār* 'saints' [TAS, II, p. 85], ചാഴമവൾകൾമാർ *vaḷumavargalmār* [TAS, III, p. 194, l. 12].

The following forms also merit mention here: പതിനാലുമാർ *padināḷumār* [TAS, III, p. 194], പത്തന്മാർ *parundanmār* [KBhr, p. 102], പമ്പന്മാർ *pāmbanmār* [Bh Bh], വണ്ടന്മാർ *vaṇḍanmār* [Bh Bh], വണ്ടത്താൻമാർ *vaṇḍattānmār* [VR, p. 201], ശവനന്മാർ *śvānanmār* [VR, p. 281], മക്കടത്താൻമാർ *maṭṭkaḍattānmār* [OT, p. 484].

3. പെണ്ണുങ്ങൾ *peṇṇuṇṇal*, appearing in Mal. from a very early time has always been distinguished in meaning in Mal. from *peṇṇal*, the normal plural of *peṇ*, which however early assumed [cf. അച്ഛന്റെപെണ്ണൾ *acchand'e peṇṇal* in Bh Bh, 2, p. 53] the meaning 'sister' [modern colloquial *peṇṇal* or *peṇṇāla* (as in VP and in colloquials today)] and had further a new plural പെണ്ണമ്മൾ *peṇṇammār* [VP, I, p. 10] or പെണ്ണാൾ *peṇṇāḷ*.

Similarly, *ānuṇṇal* 'males' is distinguished in meaning from *āṇṇāla* 'brother' [KG; VP] from an early time, this *āṇṇāla* having a new plural *āṇṇāla-mār* or *āṇṇāḷ*.

I think that the forms *peṇṇuṇṇal* and *ānuṇṇal* may have been newly constituted as a result of the semantic restriction suffered by the original normal plurals *āṇṇal* and *peṇṇal* in Mal.

In കുഞ്ഞുങ്ങൾ *kuṇṇuṇṇal*, perhaps the nasal group *ṇṇ* of *kuṇṇu* was partly responsible for inducing the nasal before *kaḷ*.

Both *kiḍākkal* [normal] and *kiḍāṇṇal* [KG, Vals., l. 1082] exist in Mal.

പൊത്തങ്ങൾ *pōttaṇṇal* [Bh Bh, 1, p. 75] and നിമ്മൂർപ്പങ്ങൾ *nirmmāyāḍaṇṇal* [cf. Rām. camp., Sugr., 27] are strange formations not current today. cf. കർത്താക്കൾ *kaṭṭaṇṇal* 'priests' [TAS VII, p. 152—16th c.], കർത്താർ *kaṭṭanār* being honorific.

4. The epicene plural endings with *-r* exist in Mal. as in Tamil:—നാലർ *nālar* [Rām. camp.], എഴുവർ *eḷuvar* [Rām. camp.], മകളർ *magalar* [E]. Bh. and Naiṣ. camp.] The last form appeared to have been colloquially active down till the early New Mal. period; *magalar* exists in the language of the Nambudiri Brahmins even today. പെണ്ണി *peṇḍi* 'woman' as sing. exists in an old proverb: അടക്കമില്ലപ്പെണ്ണി *aḍakkamillā-p-peṇḍi* [Proverbs, No. 31]; the plural form in Old Mal. was not *peṇḍir* as in Old Tam. but only പെണ്ണികൾ *peṇḍigal*. [J K A, I, p-455]

5. *kār* appearing in modern വണ്ടിക്കാർ *vaṇḍikkār*, വേലക്കാർ *vēlakkār*, etc. has to be traced to *kār-ar* [cf. E]'s കുറുക്കാരർ *kur-aḷakkārar* and ചതിക്കാരർ *cadikkārar* and also അവസരക്കാരർ *avasarakkārar* in VR, p. 99 but കൂട്ടുകാർ *kūṭṭugār* in OT,] in which the genuine pl. suffix *-ār* appears. *kār-* is a Sanskrit suffix with which forms like *vēlakkāran*, etc., have been formed in some of the south Dr. speeches.

In Travancore documents and in certain regional colloquials, the plural *kār-ar* appears as *kār-ar*, while generally in other parts of Malabar today the coalesced *kār* stands for *kār-ar*.

For *kār*, cf. പരിചരിക്കാർ *paricagārarkku* [TAS, IV, p 86 ff—13th c], and നട്ടുകാർ *nāṭṭugār*, സർവ്വധികാർ *sarvādhikāryakkār* in a late 18th cent. document reproduced in JKA, I, p. 42.

The change of post-dental or alveolar *r* to a cerebral *ṛ* on account of the influence of neighbouring back vowels is a special feature of Mal. phonology [see my PMP]; cf. the following colloquial forms occurring in V Pm:—ഓവർ *ōṛu* [= അവർ *avar*]; ജോനോർ *jōṇōṛu* [= ജോനകർ *jōnakar*], etc.

CHAPTER II.

DEMONSTRATIVES.

1. The Old Tam. intermediate demonstratives on an- u-basis ceased to be active in the Middle Tam. period. Mal. also does not have them.

Gundert [Gr., p. 38] seeks, though with considerable hesitation [cf. Mal. Dict., p. 121], to identify the old intermediate demonstrative in Mal. forms like പാഞ്ഞു *paraññūdu*, വന്നു *varññūdu*, കൊടുപ്പു *koḍuppu*; but forms like പാഞ്ഞു *paraññūdu*, occurring in K G and other early texts may probably be constituted of the Mal. finite of the type *paraññū* [with final full u] and the expletive *adu* of which *a*-has been absorbed, while forms like കൊടു *koḍu*, പാടു *pāḍu* may have been derived from കൊടുവ *koḍuv* and പാടുവ *pāḍuv* [cf. my observation in Ch. IV in connection with the *ū* of the unique Mal. Indeterminate tense].

2. The adjectival use of *adu*, *idu* in Mal. [instead of *i*, *ī*, and *a*, *ā*] as in *idu poḷu* [K R, Ār., 10] and *idu vaḷi* [K R, Bāl., 77] is somewhat peculiar. Such a usage is not current in Old Tam.; but Middle Tam. and the modern colloquial allow collocations like *adu mādiri*, *idu pōle*, etc.

3. The use of *a* and *i* before relative verbal participles, as in *ഇക്കട്ടവിശേഷം i-k-kēṭṭa viśeṣam* [K R, Sund., 138] and *ഇക്കണ്ട രൂപത്തിൽ i-k-kaṇḍa rūpattil* [K G, Vals., l. 1506] is quite unique in Mal.

4. The absence of the gemination of the sound *v* [from the glide *v*] in *aviḍe*, *iviḍe* [current in Mal. from the earliest known times], and the lack of grammatically standardized sandhi units like Tam. *a-v-yānai* 'that elephant, are other Mal. specialities recognized by L, III, 2 and 3.

5. The common modern Mal. demonstratives *ā* and *ī* [the lengthened forms of *a* and *i*] occur in Old Tamil only in poetry according to TE, 209. It is worthy of note that these lengthened demonstratives are, while restricted to poetry in Tamil, very

commonly used in the literary and the colloquial dialects alike in Mal., Telugu and Kannaḍa.

6. *av* and *iv*, the plural "neuter" demonstratives in old instances like ഇവല്ലാം *ivellām* [K R, Ār., 8] may be compared to *av* and *iv* of Tam.

7. It may be mentioned here that, while the plurals *av(a)* and *iv(a)* had always the augment *-att-* in inflexional endings in Old Tamil, the practice of optionally dropping this augment in the inflexional forms of the plural bases appears to have cropped up in the Middle Tam. stage, since forms like *avai-y-ōḍu* occur in Middle Tam. This optional practice exists in Mal. also from the earliest literary period; and in the modern colloquials, Mal. generally drops the augment in the inflexional forms of these bases.

8. In Mal., from the earliest known period, *-idu* appears in literary texts after finite tense-forms (when there are no personal endings) as a mere expletive in all persons and numbers (without showing grammatical concord with the subject):—ഓചയം ഏതീ ഇട്ടിതു *iṭṭidu* [TAS, V, p. 85—12th century], കാണായിതു *kāṇāyidu* [K R, Bāl., 80]; ചെനീതു മിതങ്ങൾ *centṇidu* *dinaṇṇal* [K R, Bāl., 82]; അവൻ വിപ്രവർക്കു കൊടുത്തിതു ദാനം *avan vipravaraṅku koḍuttidu dānam* [ib. 49]; എണ്ടിക്കീലും മറഞ്ഞിതു അന്നിത)ചരങ്ങൾ *maṇṇṇidu aṇṇiṣicaran-mār* [R C, 843].

-udu also appears as an expletive particularly in connection with tense-forms with final-*u*:—

എങ്ങൾ വന്നതു" *eṇṇal vanṇūdu* [CBh, p. 315 of Inter. Selections]; പറഞ്ഞതേ *paraṇṇude* [E] Bh].

Rarely, *-adu* appears as a partial expletive: ഇവണ്ണം കാമിനികളുടെ മിനോവങ്ങൾ ശ്രീകൾ കണ്ടിയതു *strigal kaṭṭiyadu* [Bh Bh]; ഈ വാസുദേവകുമാരൻ പരിഷയെ തുലിവത്തുനതു *śuddhi varutturṇadu* [Bh Bh, 1, p. 2].

1. *idu* as a variant of *-adu* in "neuter" participials has been referred to in the commentary on *Viṇācōḷiyam* as occurring in (colloquial) Tam., under *sūtra* 11 of the *kriyā paḍalam*. *Perundēvanār* refers to variants like ഉപ്പിതു *uṇṇidu* and ഉറങ്ങിതു *uraṅguvidu*. Of course in Tam., the "neuter" force was never lost sight of.

idu, as a variant of *-adu*, occurs in Mal. inscriptions in forms (with a gentle "hortative" meaning) like ചെല്ലിതു, കൊടുപ്പിതു etc. [See ch. IV.]

These two last-mentioned constructions mark a transition stage, since the forms with-adu may be regarded as participials].

നമ്പിരാട്ടിയാർ അമ്മെച്ചിതു ഒരു തിരുവുള്ളിക്കു amaiccidu [TA S, II, p. 177—10th c.] shows a participial noun pure and simple, while കൊടുത്തിതു koḍuttidu in the same inscription p. 204, shows the transition from the participial to the expletive stage.

I think that originally the forms were used as participials¹ and that afterwards (perhaps along with the disintegration of personal endings)-idu (and rarely-udu), the phonetic variants of adu, came to be used as mere expletives.

9. In this connection I may note that പല pala and ചില cila when used appositionally or predicatively generally show the plural forms in OldMal.; but gradually by about the time of E₁, paladu and ciladu began to be used when the plural idea was clear from the context:—

ഉടൽ പലവം uḍal palavum [KR, Utt., 261]

നാൾപലവ ന്ന palava [ib., 176]

പലവകുൺ palava [RC, 453]

ഇവ പലവിൽ iva palavil [K Bhr, p. 133]

E₁ uses both palavum and paladu alike:—പറിച്ചുകൊള്ളുക പലവം ശാസ്ത്രങ്ങൾ palavum [E₁ Bh]; പലവംനിറുപ്പിച്ചു palavum [ib.]; പരയണമൊപല pala [ib.]; കർത്തുങ്ങൾ പലതുൺ paladu [ib.]; ഇശ്വരപരിത്രങ്ങൾ പലതും paladum [Cint].

VR has മാനങ്ങൾ പലതുൺ māṇaṇṇaḷ paladunḍu [p. 2], വീടുകൾ പലതിലും viḍugaḷ paladilum [p. 280], ചിലതുനൾ ciladu nṇaḷ [p. 165].

Today, paladu is far more common than palava in the above contexts.

¹ Instances like വന്നതായി vanṇuḍ-āyī [KG, Prāvṛd. 1. 4] പോയിതായി pōyid-āyī [ib., Hemant., 1. 2] show the bhāvavacana or verbal noun force of the participial.

CHAPTER III.

PRONOUNS.

The forms showing distinctive features in Mal. are dealt with below.

1. The first person singular *nān* with initial *n* may have been an archaism of the west coast. Old Tamil shows *yān*, while Middle Tamil has *n'ān* beside older *yān*.

The "oblique" or the inflexional base has *en*-both in Tam. and in Mal., as in certain other Dravidian speeches; but Mal. *enikku*, the dative, shows *-i-* in the stead of *-a-* of Tam. *enakku*. Sometimes, however, *nān* itself appears before the postpositions *mūlam* [*nān mūlam*, E. Bh.] and *nimittam* [KR, Sund.]

2. The first person plural forms in Mal. are the following:—old *nāññāḷ* [KR, Sund, 76 and RC, 34].

nāññāḷ, another "exclusive" form with shortening of the basal-*ā*, met with in the older texts and in present-day speech. cf. the "oblique" *nāñḡaḷ* of Early Middle Tam. [e. g. *Tiruvāymoli*, III, 9, 3].

nām or *nōm*, is the old "inclusive" form. *ō* [=long *o*] in *ōm*, and *o* in *nōmmayum* and *nōmmaḍe* [CAR III, p. 20] are due to the influence of the bilabial-*m*. *nammaḷ* is another "inclusive" form.

3. The history of the first person plural pronouns *nāññāḷ*, *nāñḡaḷ* and the "oblique" *eññāḷ* and *nāññāḷ* is noteworthy.

(a) Old Tamil completely lacks the first person plurals with the ending *kaḷ*. It is in the Early Middle Tam. stage that *kaḷ* in *n'āñkaḷ* [Nom.], *n'āñkaḷ* ["oblique"] and *eñkaḷ* ["oblique"] appears. The Mal. forms, in so far as they show the plural ending *kaḷ* for these, correspond to the Early Middle Tam. ones.

(b) Mal. *nāññāḷ* [with a unique palatal *ñ*-not found in Tam. *n'āñkaḷ*] is used in the earliest texts both as the Nom. and as the "oblique" stem: *nāññāḷ-e* [KR, Kiṣk., 99], *nāññāḷ-il* [ib., 397], [RC, 834].

(c) More frequent as the “oblique” stem in the earliest texts than *nāññal-* or *ñāññal-* is *eññal-* [corresponding to Mid. Tam. “oblique” *eñkal-*]. *eññal-* is the “oblique” stem appearing exclusively in US; and *eññal-* beside the “oblique” *ñāññal-* appears in KG, in Bh Bh, in the campus and in E₁’s works. Rarely it crops up in later works like Vetā. While it was exclusive in US, it is gradually displaced by *ñāññal-* as the “oblique” stem in later texts, till in the modern Mal. stage it has been more or less ousted except in certain communal colloquials. That at an early stage *eññal-* was fairly deep-rooted in Mal. is indicated by the use of *eññal* as a Nom. also, as in *eññalum...cellumbō* [KG, Vals., l. 411], *eññal varinūdu* [C Bh, p. 315], *eññal centru* [Girij., p. 3].

4. എമ്മിൽ *em-m-il* [RC, 269] with the “oblique” base *em-* [cf. Old Tam. *em-*] is perhaps an imitation of Tam. usage. cf. also ഒരു പരവനിതാ ചങ്ങനം എമ്മിൽ പ്രണയവിരോധം *oru paravanitā ca nānum emmil prañayavirōdham* [L, 4, 11, cit.].

5. The inflexional base of the second person singular in Mal. is *nin-* and not *un-* as in Tamil. This *nin-* has been exclusively used in Mal. from the earliest known times, and therefore it may be definitely isolated as an archaism.

In the dative, it appears sometimes in the colloquial as നീക്കു *ninakku* with the cerebral *n* which is perhaps due to the influence of the velar plosive-*kk-* following.

6. The second person plural *nīññal* of Mal. corresponds to the Middle Tam. *nīñ-kal* [Old Tam. had only *nīr*, *nīyir*].

But while the inflexional base in Middle Tam. is *un-kal* [Old Tam. *nim-* or *num-*], the Mal. inflexional base is *nīññal-* itself, to which the “case”- terminations are annexed.

7. നീമ്മിൽ *nim-m-il* of RC 32, is a Tamilism [cf. old Tam. *num-*].

8. The only form of the plural reflexive pronoun *tām*, used today is *tammil*; but *tām* itself [very frequently in RC and in the works of the Paṇikkars], and the inflexional forms *tamukku*, *tammōḍu*, *tamme* occur in the texts.

9. The following syntactic uses of *tān* and *taññal* are old:—

(i) The merely “expletive” use as in രാമൻ തന്നെപ്പത്രൻ *rāmaṇ*

tannuḍe and ഭഗവാൻ തനിക്ക് bhagavān tanikku. As a "poetic" device this usage exists even today; but instances like ഒന്നങ്ങൾ തന്നുടെ dantaṇṇaḷ tannuḍe [KG, Vals., l. 171], മന്ത്രികൾ തന്നുടെ manṭrigaḷ tannuḍe, where the singular tannuḍe is associated with plurals would be unusual in modern poetry.

(ii) tāne and taniye meaning "alone" have fallen into disuse.—സമ്പത്തും തന്നേ വരും tāne varum [Eḷ Bh], തനിയേ പരിഭവനം ചെല്ലുതിന്നു taniyē [Eḷ Bh].

(iii) taṇṇaḷ 'alone', as in gōkkaḷ taṇṇaḷe 'the cows of their own accord' [Eḷ Bh]; cf. also താങ്ങേയ്" taṇṇaḷēy in a tenth century inscription [TAS, V, p. 36].

(iv) taṇṇaḷ used emphatically, as in ഞങ്ങളും രാജരവു ഞങ്ങൾ തങ്ങളും ṇaṇṇaḷ taṇṇaḷ 'we ourselves and none else' [KG, Kamsa-salg., l. 60].

(v) The use of instances like the following is no longer current today:—

ആയന്മാർ തന്നുടെ തന്നുടെ കിന്നും തെളിച്ചു" tannuḍe tannuḍe [KG, Ulūkh.—Note the use of the singular tannuḍe in connection with the pl. subject].

മന്ത്രികളെല്ലാവരും തന്നുടെ തന്നുടെ [ib., Kamsam., l. 243]

തങ്ങളാൽ തങ്ങളാൽ ആയ സല്ലാരവും taṇṇaḷaḷ taṇṇaḷaḷ [Eḷ Bh]

തങ്ങൾക്കു തങ്ങൾക്കു" taṇṇaḷkku taṇṇaḷkku [ib.]

ജനങ്ങളുടേക്കും താന്താന്റെ tādānd'e [VR, p. 88]

തങ്ങളുടെ തങ്ങളുടെ പരിവാരത്തോടു taṇṇaḍe taṇṇaḍe [OT, p. 79]

10. The use of tān in contexts like അനുഗ്രഹിക്കാൻ നിനക്കു നിനക്കു anugrahiikka tān nīgrahikka tān [Bh Bh, I, p. 70], മഴ താൻ ഇരുട്ടു താൻ maḷa tān iruṭṭu tān [Eḷ Bh, p. 373] appears to be old.

11. The present-day colloquial use of tān for 'thou' [from nī tān with nī dropped] is at least as old as the period of the early campus: ഞാനാരെന്നും താനാരെന്നും ṇān-ār-eṇṇum tān ār-eṇṇum [Rām. camp., Aṅg.].

On the whole, the pronominal forms of Mal. correspond to Early Middle Tam. forms except for (i) the palatal ñ of ṇān, ṇāṇṇaḷ and ṇaṇṇaḷ; and (ii) the "oblique" nīn- [sing.] and nīṇṇaḷ- [pl.].

CHAPTER IV.

VERBS.

1. BASES

1. Mal. verbal bases are mostly directly allied to Early Middle Tam. verb-bases. There are, however, a number of bases in Mal., which have no direct counterparts in Tamil or which evidence structural and semantic modifications. It may be said at once that not one of these unique indigenous verb-bases of Mal. can be said to be nearer related to any non-Tamil Dravidian speeches than to Tamil (particularly Middle Tam.).

(a) Some Mal. bases that do not have *direct* counterparts Tamil (or in any other known Dravidian speech) are the following.

അടർ <i>aḍar</i>	'to be peeled off'		
അയക്ക <i>aya-kk</i>	'to send'	cf.	Tam. <i>aṣai-kk</i> 'to move'
കത്ത <i>katt</i>	'to burn'	,,	<i>kand</i> 'to be scorched'
കയർക്ക <i>kayar-kk</i>	'to be angry'	,,	<i>kayar</i> 'astringency'
കിളർക്ക <i>kiḷar-kk</i>	'to be corroded'		
കിഴക്ക <i>kiḷukk</i>	'to knock on the head'	,,	<i>kiḷ</i> 'below'
കിളെക്ക <i>kiḷai-kk</i>	'to dig out'	,,	
കിഴൈക്ക <i>kiḷai-kk</i>	'to grow old'	,,	<i>kiḷavan</i> , etc
കേഴ <i>kēḷ</i>	'to weep'	,,	<i>kēv</i> 'to gasp'
കുടൈ <i>kuḍai</i>	'to fling out hands, etc.'		
കൊതിയ്ക്ക <i>kodi-kk</i>	'to be greedy'		
ചാട്ട <i>çāḍ</i>	'to leap'		
ചുമയ്ക്ക <i>cumai-kk</i>	'to cough'	,,	<i>tumm</i> 'to sneeze'
[or ഉമയ്ക്ക of KG]			
ചെങ്ങ <i>ceṅṅ</i>	'to grow red'	,,	<i>cem</i> 'red'
ചെത്ത <i>cett</i>	'to cut'	,,	<i>cedukk</i>
തമിഴ് <i>tamiḷ</i> [as in <i>tamiṇṇ-in</i> KG]			
തറ <i>taṛ</i>	'to sink'		
തികക്ക <i>tiga-kk</i>	'to be boiled, as milk'		
തികൈ <i>tigai</i>	'to be completed, filled'		
തിരൈ <i>tirai</i>	'to search for'		
തിരക്ക <i>tirakk</i>	'to inquire'		

തുനി 'to venture'	„ tuṇi-'to resolve'
തുരക്കു tura-kk-'to bore'	„ turuv-
തുറിക്കു tuṛi-kk-'to bulge out, as eyes, etc.'	
തുറു tūṛ-'to defecate'	„ tūṛ-'to drizzle'
തെണ്ടു teṇḍ-'to roam about like a beggar'	„ teṇḍ=tēḍ-[in the 15th c. Naidadam.]
തേക്കു tēg-'to bale up water'.	
തെളിക്കു teḷi-kk-'to drive cattle'.	
തെഴിക്കു teḷi-kk-'to beat the breast'.	
നീരണ്ടു nīraṇṇ-	„ n'irai 'row'.
പാക്കു pāṛkk-'to live, reside'	
പിഴകു piḷug-'to slip off'	
പുലമ്പു pulamb-'to appear'	„ pula-p-paḍ and pulam 'field'.
പുഴക്കു puḷaṇṇ-'to be uprooted'	
പൊട്ടു poṭṭ-'to break,' 'to sprout out'	„ poḍi-
പൊലിക്കു poli-kk-'to -extinguish'	
പൊന്തു pond-'to rise'	
മാന്തു māṇḍ-'to scratch'	
മിണ്ടു miṇḍ-'to utter words'	„ miṇumiṇukk 'to utter words indistinctly'
മുളു mūḷ-'to hum'	
മേടു mēḍ-'to hammer'	
മുഷി muṣi 'to be soiled' > 'to be estranged'	„ mūḷkku.
വിരക്കു viṣa-kk-'to feel hungry	„ viyai-'to desire'.

(b) Some Malayalam verb-bases showing structural peculiarities are the following:—

അനങ്ങു anaṇṇ-'to be moved'-	cf. Tamil alaṅg
അമ്പു anb 'to love' [as a verb]	„ „ anbu [noun]
എത്തു ett- 'to reach'	cf. Tamil eṭṭ-and att-
ഉരക്കു ū-kk-'to shed water'	„ „ ugu-kk-
ഇരുകു iḍ- 'to be joined'	„ „ iṇḍ-
ഏക്കു ēg-'to order'	„ „ ēv-
ഏചു ēṣ-'to be like'	„ „ ēy-
ഓലു ōl-'to flow'	„ „ oli-kk-

കലർ kalar- 'to be mingled'	„ „	kala-kk-
കോര kōr- 'to draw up water'	„ „	kōl-
ചവിട്ട് cavitt- 'to tread on'	„ „	cavatt-
ചൂണ്ട cūṇḍ- 'to point at'	„ „	cutt-
തണക്കു tanu-kk- 'to become cold'	„ „	tanbu 'cold' ness'
തഴുക talug- 'to embrace'	„ „	taluv-
നിവീര nīvir- 'to rise'	„ „	nīmir-
തൂഴ് നൂല്- 'to creep through'	„ „	nūlai-
തിങ്ങു tinn- 'to be crowded'	„ „	tiraṅg-
പകർ pagar- 'to be transferred'	„ „	peyar-
പൊതുക്കു padu-kk- 'to be soft'	„ „	paduṅg-
പറയ്ക്കു pāy-kk- 'to cause to spread'	„ „	pācc-
പുക്കു pūg- 'to enter'	„ „	pug-
പുതുക്കു pudug- 'to be renewed'	„ „	pudu-kk- 'to renew'
പണി paṇi- 'to work' [as a verb]	„ „	paṇi 'work'
ചിമ്പു cimb-, cimm- 'to wink'	„ „	cimitt-
തീരി tiri- 'to understand'	„ „	teri-
ചെരുമാറു perumār- 'to go about' 'to treat about'	„ „	parimār-
[also old parimār and parumār-] തുടങ്ങു tuḍaṅṅ- 'to begin'	„ „	toḍaṅg-
തുടരൂ tuḍar- 'to follow, continue'	„ „	toḍar-
പെണ്ണു peṇṇ- [in KG]	„ „	paṇṇ-
വീയ് vīy- [past stems vid- and viyi]	„ „	vīś-
മുങ്ങു muṅṅ- 'to be immersed'	„ „	muḷug-
വീട് viḍ- 'to be returned, recouped'	„ „	mīl-

വേണം vēṇ- 'to wish for'	„ „	vēṇḍ-
മേടിക്കു mēḍi-kk- 'to receive'	causative	vēṇḍuvi
കെടുത്തു keḍutt- 'to extinguish'	„ „	keḍ- 'to be destroyed'
പൊക്കു pokk- 'to cause to rise'	„ „	only poṅg- 'to rise' and the noun pokkam.

(c) The following Malayālam bases show semantic variations or developments.

കോലം kōl- [used in a general sense, as in campu മേളം കോലം mēḷam kōlum, ഭംഗി കോലം bhaṅṅi kōlum, Eḷ's വിസ്തരം കോലം vismayam kōlum, ഭക്തി കോലം bhakti kōlum].

തൈക്കു tai-kk- 'to beat'; in Tamil the word is not used for 'blows, given to persons in a fight'.

ഓങ്ങു ōṅṅ- has the generalised meaning 'to attempt' in Old Malayālam; Tamil ōṅṅ- means 'to lift up' 'raise', etc.

പുലമ്പു pulamb- 'to appear' [as in പുലമ്പിടങ്ങും അമ്പിൽ എൻ തമ്പരാനേ pulambidēṅam anbil en tamburāṇē] owes its meaning to contamination with പുലപ്പെടുക pula-p-peḍ- 'to be exposed, to appear'. Malayālam pulamb- with the meaning 'to prattle' corresponds of course to the Tamil word.

കേൾക്കു kēḷ-kk- has in Malayālam only the meaning 'to hear'; Tamil shows 'to hear' and 'to ask'.

നോക്കു nōṅṅ- in Malayālam means 'to consider' [in works like KG and Eḷ], but Tamil nōṅṅ- signifies 'to be attached to'.

പിണങ്ങു piṅṅṅ- in Malayālam means 'to be at sulks' 'to break off relations', while Tamil piṅṅṅ- signifies only 'to be intertwined.'

പോരിനാഞ്ഞുവന്നു pōrin-āṅṅu [Irupatt. Rām., 7, 7] shows a generalised meaning.

മലയാളം ഉഴറു uḷar- signifies 'to go in a hurry' 'to be in a hurry', while the Tamil word means 'to move about', 'to be disturbed', etc.

(d) The following are compounds peculiar to Malayalam:—

Old ചെവിക്കൊരി *cevi-k-koḷi*-, യാത്രാക്കു *yātrākk-*, വേറിരിക്കു *vēṛirikk*-, കോഴപ്പെട്ടു *kōḷapped-*, നീക്കൊരി *n'ikkol*-.
 Old and New Malayalam മതിവരു *madivar-*, മതിയാക്കു *madi-y-āg-*, ചഞ്ചാക്കു *cāñcād-* [perhaps influenced by Skt. *cāncalya*], തലോട്ടു *talōḍ*-, പിടിപെട്ടു *piḍi-peḍ-*.

കരയേറു *kara-y-ēṛ-*, കരേറു *karēṛ-*, കേറു *kēṛ-*, കയറു *kayaṛ-* 'to climb'.

kayaṛ- or *kēṛ-* 'to climb' does not occur in US, in Līl., in the works of Niraṇam Paṇikkars, in RC or in Eḷ's works; on the other hand, the exclusive form in these works is the full compound *karayēṛ-* or its Mal. contraction *karēṛ-*.

karēṛ- has disappeared from the modern speech [completely, perhaps, from about the beginning of the 19th century]. *kēṛ-*, *kayaṛ-* began to appear by about the beginning of the New Mal. era, and gradually ousted the older *karēṛ-* and *karayēṛ-*.

kara-y-ēṛ- has the literal meaning 'to get ashore' and the figurative meanings 'to be saved' 'to attain salvation' in Middle Tamil. In Mal., the signification had early developed into the generalised idea of 'ascending' 'climbing', used both literally and figuratively. Structurally, it appears both as *kara-y-ēṛ* and as *karēṛ*-. US [e. g., 1, 21], the Paṇikkars [e. g. KR, Utt., 324], RC [e. g., 719], the campus and Eḷ exclusively use *karayēṛ* or *karēṛ*; *kayaṛ* or *kēṛ* is not to be met with in any of these texts.

മറ കരെ കരയേറുവാനായു *maṛu kare karayēṛuvānāy* [Bhāg, p. 50] shows how *karēṛ-* had become a well-fused compound not merely in structure but in meaning too, since the original force of *kara* of *karēṛ* should have been lost sight of in a phrase like this.

A Travancore State document, written in the colloquial style of the early 16th century has മണ്ഡപത്തിൽ കരയേറി *maṇḍapattil karayēṛi* [KSP, I, p. 24].

I find a few instances of കയറ *kayaṛ-* beside *karēṛ-* in Bh Bh, [e. g. in volume 2, p. 12], but I do not know whether these words may not have been introduced by the editor who had to fill up

1 cf. തെൻകരയേറുക [KR, Kisk, 297] where the literal meaning is conspicuous,

several gaps in editing this volume. One may roughly say that, till about the time of Eḷuttaṣṣan, *karēṛ-* was used in literature to the exclusion of *kayāṛ-* or *kēṛ-*. One of the editions of Pūḍaṇam's Jñānappāna shows an instance of *kayāṛ-*. This was in the sixteenth century i. e. the period of Eḷ. who (let it be said) avoids using *kayāṛ-* or *kēṛ-*. The 17th century Paḍappāṭṭu [p. 25] uses *karēṛ-*; VR has both forms [pp. 3 and 269]; Kuñjan in the 18th century uses the older *karēṛ-* [ആൽത്തറമേൽ കരേറ, OT, p. 19; ഗുളമതിൽ മഠല കരേററ വരിച്ചു gaḷamadil māla karēṭṭi varikkum, OT, p. 71], beside *kēṛ-* [മടിയിൽ കോം maḍiyil kēṛum, OT, p. 60]; Rāmapurattu Vāriyar uses both *kayāṛ-* and *kēṛ-* [Kuc. vañji]. Today, *karēṛ-* has disappeared from the colloquial, and *kayāṛ-* or *kēṛ-* alone is used.

kayāṛ- or *kēṛ-* 'to ascend' is non-existent in any of the Dravidian speeches. It is noteworthy that the verb *kayāṛ-* in Mal. is of comparatively late occurrence in the texts [perhaps colloquial, to begin with] and that it gradually replaced *karēṛ-* of the older texts. In view of these facts I am inclined to ask whether *kēṛ-* may not have been popularly derived from *karēṛ-* through colloquial forms like *കരയ്ക്കേ* *karaikkēṛu* [cf. *കരക്കേറ* in Bh Bh, 2, p. 73 and Kuñjan's *കരക്കേറ* *karakēṛi-* in Irup. Bhāg., 21, 30] which may have been wrongly regarded as being constituted of *kara* and *kēṛ*, though really *karaikkēṛ-* is *karaikk-* [the dative of *kara*] followed by *ēṛ-*.

In the formation of popular *kayāṛ-* with the meaning 'to climb as with a rope,' the noun *kayāṛu* 'rope' [Tam. *kayir*] may have also exercised some influence.

2. Unique Mal. verb-forms derived from bases common to Tam. and Mal:—

(a) *al* and *il* regarded as *kuṟippuvinaṭi* bases show in Tam. the conj. participles *allādu*, *illādu*, *anṛi* and *inṛi*; the rel. participles *allāda*, *illāda*; *alan*, *ilan*, *alen*, *ilen*, etc. with personal endings; and the generalised negative particles *alla* and *illai*.

Mal. has, besides all these except the conj. participles *anṛi* and the forms with the personal endings, developed a few unique formations with tense-affixes.

അല്ലായന്നു allāyunn̄u
അല്ലാത്തു allānn̄u

or

അല്ലായത്തു allayānn̄u
അല്ലായ്യിൽ allāygil

or

അല്ലായയ്യിൽ allayāygil
അല്ലായ് allāyga

ഇല്ലായന്നു illāyunn̄u
ഇല്ലാത്തു illānn̄u

or

ഇല്ലായത്തു illayānn̄u
ഇല്ലായ്യിൽ illāygil

or

ഇല്ലായയ്യിൽ illayāygil
ഇല്ലായ് illāyga
ഇല്ലായ്വന്നു illāyvan
ഇല്ലായ്വന്നു illāyumbōl

For the structure of these forms, see below.

For Mal. ind'i, ind'i-y-e, enni, enni-y-ē from the conjunctive participle ind'i, see Chap. V, 2.

(b) aridu signifying 'what is difficult, scarce' in Tam. is connected with ār- in ār-uyir, etc., and with ariya.

Mal., has arudu corresponding to Tam. aridu, besides ār- precious < 'scarce' in compounds like ār-ōmal, and ariya as in ariya punyam [KBhr, p. 124], ariya tapasiga [ib.]. arippam 'scarcity' [Tam. arupam] is another word which Old Mal. has, as in പാവതിരപ്പം paravadin-arippam [KBhr, p. 118].

This base is represented in other Dravidian languages also:—Telugu aridi 'what is rare, difficult to attain'; Kann.: aridu.

Besides the idea of 'difficulty' or 'impossibility' the semantic variation¹ of 'undesirability' or 'prohibition' exists for arudu in Mal. when it is associated with the older infinitive participle, as in ചെയ്യാരു ceyyarudu. In the works of the Panikkars, instances of the ceyyarudu type signify either 'difficulty' or 'prohibition' according to the context; in US and KG the contexts indicating 'prohibition' are non-existent. In E₁, both meanings are conveyed. In the later texts, the semantic development of 'prohibition' becomes more and dominant, though instances do continue to exist with the older meaning. In present-day Mal., the ceyyarudu type signifies only 'prohibition'.

This semantic evolution is true only of the type constituted of the old infinitive participle and arudu; the types of ചെയ്യാൻ

¹ When the "impossibility" is consciously created by an external agency, "prohibition" is the result.

രൂപം ceyvānarudu and of ചെയ്വതിന്നരുതു ceyvadinn-arudu (existing in literary Mal. but not in the modern colloquial), only signify 'difficulty' or 'impossibility'.

In Mal., arud has also been treated from an early time as a verb-base capable of being conjugated with "negative" terminations and tense-affixes [for which, see below].

അരുതായെന്നതു arudāyunṛadu [R C, 746].

അരുതാഞ്ഞു arudāññ- [R C, 132].

അരുതാത arudāda [R C, 34].

അറിയരുതാതെ aṛi-y-arudāde [T A S, IV, p. 46].

അരുതായ്വൻ arudāyṁn [K R, Utt., 200].

അരുതായ്ക arudāyga

All these, except arudātta, have now gone out of use from the colloquial.

(c) Some Mal. specialities of the verb-forms of *uḷ* may be noted here:—

(i) As in Early Middle Tam. [cf. N, 339], *uṇḍu* [the third person "neuter" singular of *uḷ*] is employed from the earliest period in connection with all genders, numbers and persons: *nān iṇḍe uṇḍu* [K Bhr]; *gandharvakulōttamar uṇḍu* [KR, Kišk., 211]. Echoes, however, of the Old Tam. usage are heard in the texts down till the New Mal. period: *uḷan*, *uḷar*, *uḷāyān*, *uḷāyāḷ*, *uḷāyān*, *uḷāyār*. *uḷay-āg* 'to come to exist' appears to be a special Mal. formation.

(ii) *uṇḍu* is employed in modern Mal. in a larger number of contexts than in Tamil.

a manuṣyan aṇḍe uṇḍu 'that man is there' would have to be expressed in Tamil by *a-m-maniḍan aṅg-irukkān*.

കളിച്ചുണ്ടു *kaḷiccuṇḍu* [K G], and common വരുന്നുണ്ടു *varuṇṇuṇḍu* 'is coming', വന്നിട്ടുണ്ടു *varṇṇiṭṭuṇḍu* 'has come', വന്നിട്ടുണ്ടായിരുന്നു *varṇṇiṭṭuṇḍ-āy-irunṇu* 'had come', കേൾച്ചുണ്ടു *kēḷ-p-p-ṇḍu* 'is heard' [US, I, 19], വരുവാനുണ്ടു *varuvān uṇḍu* 'is yet to come', illustrate some of the varied uses to which *uṇḍu* has been put in Mal.

ഉണ്ടല്ല *uṇḍ-uḷḷu* is an old form occurring in K G.

(iii) Another peculiar Mal. use of *unḍu* is illustrated by the following:—

എന്നാൽ നിങ്ങൾക്കുണ്ടു് വേണ്ടു് *enṇāḷ nīṇṇāḷ orṇ-ṇḍu vēṇḍu* [BhBh, 1, p. 107].

മുൻ നാൾ ഉണ്ടു് ആ *mūṇṇu nāḷ ṇḍu kaṇḍu* [US, 2, 80].

മന്നവൻ യുധിഷ്ഠിരൻ തന്നെയും ഉണ്ടാകണ്ടു് *mannavan yudhiṣṭhi-ran tannēyum unḍo kaṇḍu* [Eḷ Bh].

(iv) Forms like the following explain the origin of modern colloquial *ēḍaṇḍu*, *āṇḍu*, *ēṇṇaṇḍu*:—

ദൈവം ഏതാനും ഉണ്ടു് കല്പിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു *daivam eḍānum-unḍu kalpiccirikkunṇu* [BhBh, 1, p. 28].

ആരാനുമുണ്ടോ കണ്ടു് *āṇnum-unḍo kaṇḍu* [Rām. Camp., Sugr., 58].

ഏതാനും ഉണ്ടു് ഞാൻ കൊണ്ടുന്നു *eḍānum unḍu ṇān koṇḍanṇu* [K G, Vals., 1. 443].

എങ്ങാനുണ്ടോ പണ്ടു് ഉള്ളായ് *ēṇṇān-unḍo paṇḍ-uḷavāy* [O T, p. 89].

(d) *val* 'to be able' a so-called "defective" verb appearing in a few Tamil forms is represented in Mal. by quite a large number of forms:—

(i) The negatives *vallēn* [colla *vallēn* of the campus, for instance], *vallār* [poga *vallār* of KG], *vallāyṁ* [Tam. *vallāmai*], *vallāle* 'not being able' have corresponding forms in Tamil. *vallān*, *vallār*, *vallēn* in Tamil, however, have both affirmative and negative meanings; Mal. *vallān* and *vallār* are exclusively negative.

(ii) The following Mal. forms, constructed according to characteristic Mal. principles of formation, are somewhat unique:—

വല്ലാത്തു *vallāṇṇu*

വല്ലനതില്ല *vallunṇadilla* [KG, Vals., 1. 1536].

കൊല്ലവല്ല *colla vallu* [KG, Kṛṣṇōlp., 1. 548].

വല്ലവൻ ഞാൻ *valluvan ṇān* [US, 2, 26].

വല്ലില *vallila* [K G, Vals., 1. 1443].

വല്ലകയില്ല *valluga-y-illa* [Bhāg, p. 80]

(iii) *valla*, the *kuṛippuvinaṭi* relative participle is used in Tam. only with the meaning 'that which is able', as in Naccinār-kiniyar's *vaṣittal valla pāṇanum*, but in Mal. from the earliest known times down till today, *valla* and the forms *vallavan*, *vallavaḷ*, *valladu* derived from *valla* are used only with a unique semantic "generalisation":—

valla vannaṁ valla vannaṁ 'in some manner' [RC, 49].

varuṁ bhartṭā valla prakāram
Would my husband come somehow?' [KR, Sund, 109].

valla kāryam [CBh].

valla kaṇakkilum [E] Bh]. This use of *valla* and of forms like 'vallavan some man', *vallavaḷ* 'some woman' *vallavar* 'some person', *valladu* 'something' is common today in Mal.

(iv) Among the other forms of *val*, the only ones retained in the modern colloquial are the following; and even in these forms the primary meanings with which they were used in Old Mal. have undergone slight semantic alterations:—

vallaṭṭa in the modern colloquial means generally 'what is not capable of being dealt with, untractable, unmanageable'. Cf. *vallaṭṭaṣṣaṇivākkugaḷ* [Sabhā]; *vallaṭṭ-ābaddham* [Sabhā, l. 939].

vallaṇḍ [- < *vallade koṇḍ*-] in contexts like *vallaṇḍay* would mean 'became helpless, physically, mentally, financially or otherwise'.

(e) *ol*, as a variant of *val*, appears in the following Mal. forms:—

paraṣam paṇavad-ivaḷṭṭ-ollā [KR Sund, 118], *ceyyollāde* [KG, Kṛṣṇṭp., l. 234], *pog-ollāṇṇu* [KG, Gōp., 2, l. 118], *ceyyollā* [a type existing both in Old and in New Mal.], *ollāda kāryam oṭṭayga* [E] Bh].

Tamil has forms like *ollāy* [Puraṇ, 31], *ollān* [ib., 78], *ollādu* [Kuraḷ], *ollum*, *olvadu*, *ollā* [Kuraḷ].

The Mal. forms *ollāṇṇu* [Neg. finite verb], *ollāde* [as a Neg. Imp.], *ceyyollā* [as a general prohibitive] are all peculiar to this west coast dialect.

(f) *en-* 'to say' is represented in modern colloquial Mal. only by the following forms, all of which have ceased to convey the original verbal idea of 'saying' as such, and convey only certain generalised syntactic significations:—

എന്നു *enṇu* [as a syntactic expletive].

എന്നാൽ *enṇāl* ['but' 'however'; and as in *rāman enṇāl āru*, etc.].

എങ്കിൽ *eṅgil* 'if'.

എന്നു *enṇa* [as in *enṇapōle*, *enṇavan*, *puli enṇa mṛgam*, etc.]

The primary verbal idea, however, is conspicuous in forms employed in the older texts:—

എന്നേടം *enmēḍam* 'while saying' [RC]

എമ്മർ *emmar* 'they will say' [Lil., 4, 7, cit.]

എന്നാതു *ennādu* 'not saying' [KR, Utt., 330]

എന്നമ്പോൾ *ennumbōl* [KG]

എന്ന കേമന *enṇu kēcana* [Campus]

എന്നാർ 'they said' [E. Bh]

എന്നാൻ *enmān* 'for the purpose of' [E. Bh]

എന്നാൻ മനോജ്ഞാതി *enṇāl* [Irupatt. Rām., 5, 6]

എന്നാർ *enṇār* 'they said' [Nal. Att., p. 417]

എന്ന *enṇu* [ib.]

എന്നാതില്ല *enmānilla* [ib., p. 434]

ena, the old infinitive participle, appears as *ene* in *Cākkyār bhāṣā*, but its primary signification has become discoloured.

ena with semantic discoloration and structural modification exists in forms like Old Mal. *cikkane*, and Old and New Mal. *poḍunṇane*.

(g) The following contexts in which forms of *āg-* are employed, are somewhat unique developments in Mal.

(i) *āvu* 'would be possible' [the aorist with *ū*, *āvō* [*āvu* + *ō*] having the force of 'I don't know'.

(ii) In instances like *paran'n'ūdāy*, [KG, Gōp., l. 530], *വന്നതായ്* *vanṇūdāy* [ib., Kṛṣṇōlp., l. 250], *āy*, the past finite is a reinforcer.

(iii) *āy*, the conjunctive past participle, serves a number of syntactic functions in Mal:—*āy -k -koṇḍu* with the signification of different 'casal' endings [*avanum-āy pōy* (3rd case); *avanōḍ -āy-k-koṇḍu paraññu* (communicative case); *avannāy-k-koṇḍu nālgi* (4th case)]; *āy* in the compound formations [*āyirikkunñu*, *āyirunñu*, *āyirikkum*, and their connected verb-forms]; *āyāvu* [as in KG *ആണങ്ങളായൊടു ഞങ്ങളു ഹൃദയം* *āṇuññal āyāvū ñaṇñal* 'how we wish we became males!'].

(iv) *ām* [*āgum*], the future relative participle, in the syntactic collocation *āmāru* [*ām-āru*] so frequently appearing in Old Mal. and E[; and *-āmadu* in contexts like *raṇḍ-ām-adu*.

(v) *ārān* [*Mokṣad.*, 1. 6] 'somebody', with its final *ān* derived from the concessive *ān-um* [see the section on "Conditionals and Concessives" below.]

(vi) The suffix *-vān* as in *uṇḍō-vān*, expressive of 'doubt or 'surprise', derived from *-ān* [< *āyin*, the conditional (with *-in*) of *āg-*], with the permanent incorporation of a dorsal glide.

(vii) Compound forms constituted of the old infinitive participle and *-āg*, like *kāṇ-āg*, *ceyy-āg*, *naḍakk-āg*, were common in Old Mal. and in all the earlier stages of New Mal.

The following forms of this type are frequently met with in the texts:—*കാണാകുന്നു* *kāṇāgurunñu*, *കാണായ* *kāṇāy*, the future *കാണാകും* *kāṇāgum* always contracted to *കാണാം* *kāṇām* and used (also today) syntactically with special significations [see below], *കാണാകിൽ* *kāṇāgil*, *കാണാകേണം* *kāṇāgēṇam*.

(viii) *āvu* in optatives like *puṇarññāvu*, *kaṇḍāvu*, *vaññā-vūdu*, etc.

3. I give below a few of the prominent verb-bases which once were current in Malayālam but which have now practically disappeared:—

kē-, *karēr-*, *ō-* 'to consider', *vāykk-* 'to increase', *amar kiḍaikk-*, *iḷkk-* 'to drag', *nū-* [past stem *nūṇ-* < *nū* [nd-], *por-* 'to fight' [modern *porud-*], *piḷug-*, *mālg-*, *iyal-*, *vīy-*, *tāv-*, *vel-*, *taḷug-*, *ulāv-* [mod. *ulātt-*] *pārkk-* [as in *trkkaṇ pārkk-*, etc], *ēś-*, *ñāṇ-*, *peṇṇ-* [in *Ceruśśēri*'s works, particularly], *igal kiṭṭ-*, *kuṇi-k-koḷ-*, *cevi-k-koḷ-*, *onñ-* [as a verb], *yātrakk-*,

aṛaikk-, mī, tiga-kk- 'of milk, to be boiled', ceṇṇ- 'to become red', iṛa-kk- 'to die' [in Eḷ Bh], poli-kk-, uḷar-, iḷai-kk-, mugai-kk-, kaḷi-kk- [as in kaṇṭham piriccu kaḷikk-], iyal-, pulamb-, ōl, mett-, taṇj-, tōy, parug-, pēṣ, payaṭṭ-, vaya-kk-, ēg-, ūkk-uḷal-, talappēḍ, kōlappēḍ-, kōl-, tappēḍ-, cuvatt-, mig-.

4. The following transitive verb-bases which form their past stems with -tt have fallen into desuetude in New Malayāḷam, having been replaced by transitive bases [having -tt-] which form their past stems with -i-.

Bases with semi-permanent kārita-kk-.	Bases with -tt-;
Past stems with -tt-.	Past stems with -i-.

- | | |
|---|--------------|
| (1) അറുതിപെടുകുന്നവൻ
aṛudi pedukkunnāvan [KR, Ār.,
117 and K G] — | peḍu-tt-i- |
| കൊലപ്പെടുത്തുക kola-p-peḍuttu
KG, Kṛṣṇālp., l. 674] | |
| (2) ഉയർത്തവനെ uyarṭtavane [KR,
Bāl., 26] — | uyar-tt-i- |
| (3) താഴ്ത്തുക tāḷttadum [KR, Ār., 22] — | tāḷ-tt-i- |
| (4) വലർത്തുക vaḷarṭṭen [KR, Bāl., 249] — | vaḷar-tt-i- |
| (5) അമാർക്കം amaṛkkām [Candr., 3, 97], കരം അമാർത്തുക
karam amaṛttu [Eḷ Bh] — | amar-tt-i- |
| (6) താഴ്പ്പതിക്കുക tāḷarppadinnu [K G] — | tāḷar-tt-i- |
| (7) നീവർത്തുക nīvarṭtu [Kir. Kiḷipp., 4,
l. 29] — | n'ivar-tt-i- |
| (8) നീരട്ടുക nīraccu [Naiṣ. camp.] — | n'ratt-i- |
| (9) വിടുത്തുക viḍuttu [KG, Vals., l. 734] — | viḍar-tt-i- |

Among these, peḍukku-was almost exclusive in the texts down till the New Malayāḷam period; tāḷkk-, uyarṭkk-, n'iraikk-, nivarṭkk- are all purely Old Malayāḷam bases, while the past forms of vaḷarṭkk-, amaṛkk-and peḍukku were occasionally used by New Malayāḷam writers [cf. OT, p. 464 amaṛttum; vaḷarṭtu in ib., p. 482; kodi vaḷarṭkkum in Koṭṭār. Ā ṭṭ., p. 100].

It may be noted that the bases with -tt (having their past with -i-) already existed in Early Middle Tamil and in Old Malayāḷam.

5. The formation of transitival verb-bases from intransitive ones in Malayālam is in the main guided by the same rules as in Tamil.

So far as causatives proper in Malayālam are concerned, Malayālam is in agreement with Middle Tamil.

The most common and frequent method of causatival formation in Malayālam is illustrated by the following instances occurring in the old texts and inscriptions:—

ചെയ്യിച്ചു ceyyiccu, ചെയ്യിക്കുകവർ ceyyikkā-k-kaḍavar [TAS, V, p. 35— 10th c.]

ചെലുത്തിച്ചു celutticcu [TAS, II, p. 49 —10th c.].

ചേവിച്ചു cēviccu [= ceyviccu] } [TAS, IV, p. 151—13th c.]
 മേവിച്ചു mēviccu [= mēyviccu] }

നടത്തിച്ചു n'aḍatticcu

എറിച്ചു ēṛiccu

എറക്കിച്ചു eṛakkiccu

എഴുന്നള്ളിച്ചു eḷunṇaḷliccu

ഇടുവിച്ചു iḍuviccu [ib.];

വിടുവിപ്പാൻ viḍuvippān [Bh Bh, I, p. 28].

പുറപ്പെടുവിച്ചു puṛappedu viccum [BhBh, I, p. 67].

ഇടിയിച്ചതു iḍiyiccadu [<iḍu-vi-ccadu] [CAR, II, p. 16].

കഴിയിപ്പിച്ചവർ kaḷiyippiccār [<kaḷivi-ppiccār] [Naiṣ. camp.]

ചെയ്യിക്കേണമെന്നു ceyyikkēṇamen'n'u and ചെയ്യിച്ചു ceyviccu in 17th c. Travancore dynastic records [KSP, I, p. 22].

അരുളിവിച്ചു aruḷiviccu [KSP, I, p. 23].

തൊടിയിച്ചു toḍiyiccu [Girij., p. 20]

The ചെയ്യിക്കു ceyyikk- type is, I think, normally descended from Middle Tamil ¹ ceyvikk- for the following reasons:—

(i) -vi definitely appears in Mal. വിടുവിക്കു viḍuvikk-, പുറപ്പെടുവിക്കു puṛappedu vicc-, though the rapid colloquial has വിടിക്കു viḍikk-, etc.

(ii) Phonetically, -u-vi or -vi may become reduced to i or i on account of the unstable nature of the bilabial v. For the instability of v, cf. Mal. tōlvi > tōli

„ kēlvi > kēli

„ oḍuvān > oḍān

„ pāḍuvin > pāḍin

¹ An early Middle Tamil inscription of the 11th century [SII, II, p. 106] shows വെട്ടിത്തു “having caused to be inscribed”.

(iii) The occurrence of -pp-i in the causatives of *Kārita* bases points to the old sandhi of -kk [*Kārita* affix]+ v-i= -pp-i [see my DS].

A very important point in connection with Mal. causatives like *ceyyikk-* and *viḍuvikk-*, is their immediate relationship with Tam. causative bases with -vi- and -ppi-. Now, these causative endings are conspicuous by their absence in Old Tamil. None of the *Śaṅgam* works show such bases, except *Paripāḍal* which, as I have shown in my MOTV, evidences some linguistic peculiarities of the Middle Tamil period. It is in the works of the *Ālvars* and the *Śaivites* that causative bases with -vi-, -bi- and -ppi- crop up abundantly in Tamil literature. The primary causative affix -vi- [-bi- and -ppi- are sandhi-modified variants] was perhaps isolated as such from original formations of the type of *pāḍu-v-i*, in which the causative force was conferred by *ī* [shortened afterwards], the *v* immediately before it arising as a glide after the back vowel *u*. The existence in Old Tamil of causatives with *ī*, *i* directly annexed to the base as in *koḷī* with its [conjunctive participle appearing as *koḷ-ī-i*], which in later literature [cf. *Nāḷaḍi*] assumes the form *koḷ-u-v-* strengthens this suggestion regarding the origin of the Middle Tamil causative affix *vi-*.

It is remarkable that the Mal. causatives are directly related to these Middle Tamil affixes.

2. PERSONAL ENDINGS OF TENSE FORMS.

1. The earliest texts and inscriptions generally use tense-forms with personal endings corresponding to those of Middle Tamil, though there are not wanting instances illustrating the absence of personal terminations.

These endings are the following:—

First person sing. *ēn*, future *an*; pl. *ōm*.¹

Second „ „ *āy*, *ā* (with the elision of -y).
pl. *īr*.

Third “rational sing.” *ān*, *ā*; pl. *ār* [and *ar* for the future].

„ “irrational” sing. *adu*; and, rarely, pl. *a*, *ava*, *ana*.

¹ Old Tamil had no *ōm*; Old Malayalam texts, wherever they use the first person pl. termination, have only *ōm*.

It will be noted that these personal endings are all Middle Tamil ones; the Old Tamil. -an-en, -an-am, -an-ai, -an-ir, -an-an, -an-ar, -an-ru [i.e., with the cariyai -an followed by personal endings with short vowels] are absent in Mal. except in what one might regard as a few unique Tamilisms¹ as in മൊഴിത്തൻ *moḷind-an-an* [RC, 11], പുകത്തൻ *pugund-an-an* [KR, Ār. 11].

Nor does Mal. have the Old Tamil future first person singular -al, in the stead of which the west coast dialect uses the corresponding Middle Tamil -an.

2. The y of the second person singular -āy, was often elided in Old Mal. :—

വെൻറ vend'ā, മറന്നിറ mārāninā [US, 1, 40]

വസിച്ഛ vasiccā [KR, Kišk. 102]

ചെയ്വ ceyvā [K Bhāg. p. 267]

തീയം മന്നം māraṇinā [Rām camp, Sugr., 65]

പാരം pārā [Imp., in KR]

3. Though personal endings for tense-forms were common in the Old Mal. texts, there do exist instances in these texts of finites without personal terminations. This absence of terminations gradually affects more and more categories of finites with the passing of time. There is a gradualness in the dropping of personal endings from period to period. As will be seen below, all the types for which personal endings are envisaged by Līl. do not have these endings in KG, and not all the types of KG showing personal endings are represented in Eī. This gradualness may have been purely literary; but it is quite possible that it may have mirrored, though chronologically at belated stages, a gradually increasing tendency in the regional and communal colloquials to drop these personal endings.

4. I shall first give instances from the texts of tense-forms without personal terminations.

(a) US has some like the following: ആര്യപട്ടർ പോയ² āriyap-
paṭṭar pōyi [2, 45];—എതൽവംതം ഉണ്ടായിപോൽ ētal vamsam
uṇḍāyi pōl [1, 26], പുകോഴിപ്പുകി pūṅgōḷi kūgi [1, 6].

¹ Līl. I, 1, comm., points out that the -an- [described in Tamil gram-
mars as a ചാരിയെ or augment] in മൊഴിത്തൻ etc. is absent in Mal.

As for the types of personal endings employed in US for tense-forms, see below.

(b) It would be interesting to examine the value of the evidence furnished by the fourteenth-century grammar Līl. on the question of personal endings for tense-forms.

(i) Śilpa 2, 24, comm., refers to forms with and without personal endings.

(ii) Śilpa 2, 25, comm., expressly adverts to the absence of personal endings in the "neuter" tense-forms more than in the others.

(iii) In the citations furnished by the commentaries, there are instances of the absence of personal endings for tense-forms:—

അതേ! കണ്ടു ade! kaṇḍu [3, 8]

ചെങ്ങിക്കടക്കം ceṇṇī kaṭākṣam [4, 2]

അതുവെളിയായ" adu veḷiyāy [4, p. 49]

ഞാനും ഒന്നു" അല്ലലായി ṇānum-ond'-allalāyī [ib.]

(iv) The personal endings allowed expressly or impliedly by this grammar are of many types, not being restricted to a few as in Eḷ (for which, see below). Instances exist like വീള"വേം viḷvom [7, p. 54]; താരാനെ tāraṇō [neg.-7, p. 54]; മിണ്ടാ miṇḍā [4, p. 39]; നിമ്മിയങ്ങനാൻ nirmmiyāṇṇān [4, p. 38]; ഉമ്മർ uṇmar, വരുവർ varuvar, കോരവർ koḷvar [future form—1, 1, comm.].

Third personal present tense forms with personal endings appear in Līl., as in other Mal. texts, only as participials:—ഉണ്ണി നോൻ uṇṇinṇōr is given in 1, 1, comm., as corresponding to the Tam. present tense form ഉണ്ണാനിൻ uṇṇāṇind'anar which latter form is impliedly prohibited for Mal. by Līl. here. [Kappaṣṣan's use of വളരാനിൻ valarāṇind', ചൊല്ലാനിൻ collāṇind' (see below) is definitely therefore an imitation of Tam. usage].

(v) A very significant observation is made by Līl. in the commentary on the third sūtra of the second śilpa:—nanu "vandān" "irundān".. ityādikam bhāṣante keraḷa hīnajāṭriyah "(it may be said that) low castes in Malabar do say "vandān" "irundān."

Though the context in which this incidental observation is made refers to the consonant group ṛd (and its Mal. develop-

ment¹), the fact that the author (or the commentator) attributes forms like these with personal endings to the "low castes" of Malabar is, I think, significant in indicating that the personal endings had not during this period completely disappeared in all communal colloquials. Apparently, the development of characteristic Mal. features had not been uniform in all communal (and regional) colloquials.

(c) Some instances from RC are the following:—

നകൻ മുട്ടിക്കൻ ചോണിതമേ *muḍikkunṇu* [706]; കടലും കലുങ്ങി *kuluṇṇi* [773]; ചെറപ്പ വന്നു *varṇu* [392]; കററം എതിത്തു *edirttu* [212]. There are also instances in which the expletive *idu* appears instead of the personal endings: നിലച്ചിതക്കപികളു *nilaccid-a-k-kapikulaṅgaḷum* [362], etc.

(d) KR¹ has instances, like the following, without personal terminations for finite tense-forms:—

ഭൂതലം ഇളകി *iḷagi* [Bāl., 228]., വിറച്ചിതു തിരികൾ *viraccidu* [228], പുകഞ്ഞിതക്കൾ *pugaṇṇid-āṣagaḷ* [228]; വിപ്രവരന്മാർ ആതികൾ കൂടി *āṣigaḷ kūṛi* [282]; വിശ്വാമിത്രൻ എഴുന്നള്ളി *eḷunṇaruḷi* [63]; ദേവകൾ കൂടി *kūḍi* [62]; ജഗത്തു നടുങ്ങി *nāḍuṇṇi* [62]; മുനിശിഷ്യാഭികളെല്ലാം ഓടി *ōḍi* [83]; വീട്ടി മഹാനിയമങ്ങൾ അനത്തം വിശ്വാമിത്രൻ *vīḍi mahāniyamāṇṇaḷ anattum viśvāmitraṇ* [234].

എഴുന്നള്ളി *eḷunṇaruḷi* [KR, Utt., 137], കുറവുണ്ടായോ *kuṟav-uṇḍāy-ō* [ib., 200], നിശ്ചലരകലവരൻ അതിബലവാനായൊ *niścira-kulavarān atibalavān-āyō* [ib.].

(e) Early inscriptional instances without the personal endings, though rare, do exist:—

കല്പിച്ച *kalpiccu* [TAS, VII, p. 112—14th c.]; പണിയും ചേവിച്ച *cēviccu* [< ceyviccu-TAS, IV, p. 151—13th c.]; മേവിച്ച *mēviccu* [< mēyviccu ib.]

5. Now I proceed to classify the types of tenses in which the personal terminations occur in the texts from US downwards.

(a) US has the following types:—

1st person sing. and pl. past endings: *vārttappettēṇ* [1,24], *tēṇiṇm nāṇṇaḷ* [1,33], *kaṇḍōm* [2,94].

1st person future sing. with an: *erivan* [2,88], *aḷalvan* [ib.].

¹ K Bhag. has very many instances of finites without personal endings or with only the expletive *idu*.

2nd person sing. past :—āḍi-k-konḍā, cend'ā [2, 46]; mātṭinā, vend'ā [1, 40]. The elision of final-y- is noteworthy; such forms occur in RC, in the works of the Paṇikkars and in the earlier campus.

3rd person past endings:— var'nān vasantam [1,8], kond'ān [1,10] ṭḍipponā [1,29], ūṇumkuḷiyum vaigund'udallō [2,2],

For the present tense, only the first person singular is met with: toḷind'ēn [1,39].

The second person plural īr of all tenses and the third person "irrational" plural ending -a-n-a- or -a are not met with in US.

Among the negatives, the third person -ā [used for singular and plural] occurs: tāṛā [2,45], oppam nillā [2,51], kāṇam pōṛā [2,57], vārānidra [2,91]

One instance of vallēn occurs [1st person] in 2,51; and in 1,55 there occurs pōṛādō.

idu as expletive for all persons:—nānvaḷaṇ nund'idu [1,108], kāyaṅkuḷavar mukkarikkind'udāgil [1,93].

(b) Līlātilakam envisages many types:—

The commentary on Sūtra 25 of Śilpa II refers to vand'ēn; vand'ōm and vand'ēm; var'nā(y); var'nīr; var'nāna, pōyana; varind'ēn and varind'ōn; kāṇun'nīr; kāṇind'ā(y)

It may be observed that the first person plural-ēm should have been purely a Tamilism since (so far as I can see) this ending in Malayāḷam texts appears always as -ōm.

The commentary on Sūtra 1 of Śilpa I refers to unḍār; unṇmar, koḷvar; unṇind'ōr. unṇind'ōr is a participial treated more or less as a finite; it may be noted that the third person "rationals" in the present tense show in Malayāḷam only participials of this type (and not forms like pōḡun'nān, etc.), whenever personal endings appear.

Among the passages cited in Līl., instances (like the following) of tense-forms with personal endings occur:—

Future : kāṇmanō [IV, 6], aṛivan [IV,17]; vīlvōm; emmar [IV,7].

Past : kaṇḍēn [IV, 15]; maraṇ'nā; kaṇḍā [VII, 9].

Present : añjind'ēn [VII, 7].

Aorist negatives : vallēn [VIII, 5]; tārān [VII, 5], miṇḍaḷ [IV, 23].

(c) In RC, the following types are met with:—

Present : First person sing. and pl.: collind'ōm [29], muḍikkur'ōm [563].

Second person sing.: muḍikkur'āyō [802].

Third person sing. and pl.: only as participials like viḷttur'ōr [344].

Past : First person sing. common.

Second person sing: maṇar'ā(y) [646], connāy [84].

Third person "rational" sing. and pl. common.

„ "irrational" pl. viḷndana [192], pagayttana [211].

Future : First person sing. with .an common.

„ plural: kiṭṭuvōm, oḍukkuvōm [42].

Second person sing. naragattil-iḷavāy [647].

Third „ pl: viḷttuvar.

„ „ sing. and pl. irrationals only with -um.

Aorist negatives : First person sing. iḷayēnē [499]. Third person aḷiyān [49], aṇiyār [455].

For the expletive idu or udu appearing in the stead of personal endings, cf. nāññal pugundidu [101], arakkarn'añjāy avan avadarittudu [73].

(d) The Niraṇam Paṇikkars employ all personal endings, except the third person "rational" present tense endings.

1st person :—pōguriñēn [KR, Bāl., 128], n'aḍariñēn [KR, Ār., 48], ceyvōm [ib, 64], viḷuññuvan nān [KR, Ār., 55], pugundōm [ib, 64], āgin'n'ōm [Kišk., 273].

2nd person :—n'ilppāy-ō [KR, Ār., 173], cinticcāy [ib., 192], ceydā [with elision of final-y, Kišk., 98]; connir [ib. 320].

3rd person :—niññana, n'iraniññana [neuter pl., KR, Kišk., 143], connān [KR, Ār., 4], urattār [ib., 12].

The forms for the third person "rational" present are sometimes participials with personal endings, but not the finite tense-forms proper :—narag-eydiññōr [KR, Kišk., 171].

Negative aorist forms like *vālēn* [KR, *Ār.*, 176], *aṛiyōm* [KR, *Kišk.*, 256], *oḷiyāy* [KR, *Kišk.*, 109], *vārān* [KR, *Kišk.*, 263], *vārār* [ib.], *poṛāl* [ib., 269] occur.

The use of the neg. ending-*ā* for persons other than the third person "irrational" pl. is met with already :—*sīta nīnakku porunīnā* [KR, *Ār.*, 49], *bhagavati tān avalk-ediroppā* [ib., 131], *piḷa vārā* [KR, *Bāl.*, 258].

Similarly, the characteristic Mal. negatives and the use of -illa for forming negatives also exist side by side with the above. The forms with-illa never show personal endings either here or in any Mal. texts whatsoever, unlike Middle Tamil.

Again, the expletive *idu* already appears in connection with tense-forms (without any other personal endings) of all persons :—*mahākalpaka vṛkṣādigaḷ āyidu* [KR, *Bāl.*, 35], *daśarathan koḍuttidu dānam* [ib. 49].

(e) In the fifteenth century works like KG and the earlier campus, the instances without personal endings are so frequent that one is led to postulate the view that the spoken language may have cast off these personal endings (at least in many areas) before this period.

Even in the literary tradition permitting the optional use of personal endings, there appears to have crept in a change after the time of Līl.; for, in KG, forms with the personal endings -ana or -a (for the third person "irrational" plural), *īr* (second person plural), and the aorist negative endings *āy* (second person sing.), *ōm* (first person plural) and *īr* (second person plural) have fallen into disuse.

(f) *Eḷuttaṣṣan* who uses tense-forms with and without personal endings, employs these endings only for the first person singular past, present and future [-an for future and *ēn* for the past and the present], for the third person rational past and rarely for the second person past and present sing.,

ōm [1st pers. pl.], *īr* [2nd pers. pl.], -ana or -a [3rd pers. neuter pl.] are absent; the present and future finites except for the first person sing., have no personal endings.

The only negative aorist ending, commonly employed for all persons and numbers, is -*ā*; others are absent, except the traditional *vālēn*, as in *colla vālēn*.

I have already adverted to the fact that KG does not show all the types of personal endings envisaged by Līl. By the time that the period of Eḷ is reached, a few other types also appear to have gone out of vogue in literature; for Eḷ does not have the following types not infrequent in KG:—Second person future sing., third person future plural like enmar, first person plurals with om, and the aorist negatives like ñillār, tārān, aṇiyāy.

Summing up, it may be said that

(a) there is a distinct difference between Old Mal. on the one hand and Eḷ on the other in the number and variety of the types of personal endings employed. The campus, KG and CBh already mark the transition in as much as they do not show all the types contemplated by Līl;

and (b) even in Old Mal., the following peculiarities¹ point to the fact that personal endings for tense-forms may have largely disappeared from the colloquial, at least in certain areas:—

(i) the extensive use of forms without personal endings in KG, CBh and the campus;

(ii) the occurrence even in US, RC, KR, KBhr and K Bhāg of instances without personal endings;

(iii) the use of idu or udu as an expletive (in the stead of personal endings) for tense-forms of all persons, indicating that even in the literature of the time personal endings were on the “road to ruin”;

(iv) the conspicuous absence in literature of personal endings for the third person present forms;

¹ In some texts, the third personal ending is used in connection with finite verbs having other persons as their subjects:—

ഞങ്ങൾ ചൊൽവർ [K Bhāg, p 115]; ഞാൻ ഉളർ [RC, 557]; നാം ഉളർ [KR, Utt., 4]; നാം ചോരവർ [KR, ഉത്തര 713]; നന്നായ് വഞ്ചി ചൂപ്പോന്നാൻ ഇന്നിങ്ങുഞാൻ [KG, Balabhadra., l. 43]; ചൊല്ലിനാൻ നീ [KG]; പൊരപ്പൻ നി poṇuppan n’i [ib.]; പാരിചരിച്ചിടുമൊരാക്കി അൻ നീ paricariccīdumār-ākinān n’i [Rām. Camp., Sitāpar., 80]; നീ മുതിന്നിടിനാൻ n’i mudin n’iḍinān [Kaly., 32]; നി വരുത്തിനാൻ n’i varuttinān [Nal. Ātt].

(v) the gradual encroachment in Mal. by the -um future on "persons" other than the third person;

(vi) the explicit statement made by Līl that in Mal. literature, personal endings may or may not appear,—a fact which points possibly to the frequency of the absence of these endings in the colloquials.

It has been postulated that the absence of personal endings for tense-forms, characteristic of Mal., represents a stage anterior to that of the other Dravidian speeches all of which show personal endings. It has been claimed that personal endings never existed at all in the Mal. colloquial and that the appearance of these endings in early texts and documents was due to the influence of Tamil, which admittedly was predominant in the early history of Malabar.

One thing must surely be conceded: the use of all sorts of personal endings in the works of the Paṇikkars, or the envisaging by Līl of forms like vand 'ēm, etc. can certainly not be reflective of the actual colloquial of the land, just as the presence of a few types of personal endings in Eḷ can in no way represent the colloquial of that period.

If personal endings existed in Mal., they must have disappeared from the colloquial (of at least a number of areas and communities) at an early period. This is indicated by (i) the existence even in the earliest texts of tense-forms without personal endings [see above for illustrations]; (ii) the explicit mention by the 14th century Līl. that personal endings were more frequently absent in "neuter" forms than in others,—a state of affairs which in all probability referred rather to literature than to the colloquial.

Having said this, I still think that there is no proof available for the position that the absence of the personal endings was a feature inherited by Mal. from the primitive Dravidian parent language, and that this lack of personal terminations therefore stands for a stage anterior to that of other Dravidian speeches.

What do we know, in the first place, of primitive Dravidian, except what could (very imperfectly indeed !) be reconstructed with the materials now available? And, in view of the exis-

tence of numerous personal endings for tense-forms in all Dravidian languages except Mal., how could any reliance be placed upon mere *a priori* arguments to show that personal endings could not have been used in the primitive stages?

Secondly, even granting that primitive Dr. tolerated forms without personal endings, where is the proof for the position that Mal. inherited this feature? The condition of the West Coast speech before about the 9th and 10th centuries of the Xian era has now to be reconstructed with the only help now available viz. Middle Tamil, to which Mal. is most intimately related. And Middle Tamil does have personal endings for tense-forms.

While therefore there is reason for us to think that personal endings for tense-forms may have disappeared from at least certain regional and communal colloquials of Mal. before the 13th century, there is absolutely no proof for the theory that this absence of personal endings dates back to the primitive Dravidian stage. On the other hand, due weight has to be given to considerations like the following:—

(i) Aminidīv Mal., a dialect spoken by the Moplahs of the Aminidīv and Laccadīv islands, shows even today some personal endings, though in somewhat attenuated and mutilated shapes. The following illustrations are taken from the Aminidive Mal. text of the "Parable of the Prodigal son", a gramophone record of which has been taken and preserved under the orders of the Madras Government:—തിന്നിത്താൻ *tinnindān*, ചൊല്ലിത്താൻ *collindān*, ഞായതായിനേൻ *hāyadāyinēn*, ഞാൻ ചൊല്ലേതായിന *nān ceydōnāyina*.

(ii) The persistence and frequency with which the first person sing. future forms with -an occur in the texts, together with the fact that the -um future encroached upon the sphere of the first person future only gradually (as the instances show) can hardly be explained otherwise than by postulating the deep-rooted character of the first person future personal ending -an in Mal.

There is also evidence of a gradual evolution of the absence of personal endings in literary tradition. The contrast between the types of personal endings used in KG on the one hand and those of E₁ on the other, for instance, would indicate this

evolution in literary tradition. The gradualness of the evolution points to the fact that personal endings may not have been exotic in Mal.

3. PRESENT TENSE.

1. The characteristic Mal. present tense ending *is-un'n'* - < - und' - < ind' - < an ending like *-g-ind'* of Middle Tamil. I have discussed these stages in detail in my HAP; I shall briefly summarise the facts below:—

(i) *-g-inṛ-* [appearing in Old Tamil texts in the past tense “neuter” forms like *ā-g-inṛu* [*ā-g + in + d (u)*] appears to have been first employed during the Middle Tam. period in the texts [i. e. from about the fourth or the fifth century A. D.] as a present tense ending to which personal terminations were annexed. That the original past tense value of *āginṛu* was forgotten is clear from the fact that this form is employed with a present tense force in some Old Tamil texts like *Aiṅṇuṇṇu* and *Pari-pāḍal*. In the writings of the Śaivites and the Vaiṣṇavites during the early Middle Tamil period, *gind'* or *ginṛ* appears profusely as a present tense ending followed by personal terminations. [cf. V, *Kriyā*, 3].

(ii) In early west coast inscriptions, forms with the present tense affix *ind'* - [without the *-g* of Tam. *-g-ind'*] appear, as in *ceyyind'a* [TAS, II, p. 191 (10th c.) and VII, p. 25 (12th c.)], *aruḷind'* [TAS, VII, p. 117], *koḷḷind'avar* [TAS, VII, p. 66].

(iii) This *ind'* of the west coast inscriptions and of some of the earlier texts normally changes [according to a rule¹ of Mal. Phonology], to *in'n'-and-un'n'*-, as attested by inscriptional instances like the following:—

വച്ചരിക്കുന്നതിന്നു *vaccirikkun'n'adinnu* [TAS, V, p. 62—11th c.].

വരുന്ന *varun'n'a* [ib., IV, p. 86]—13th c.

വാണുരുളുന്ന *vaṇṇaruḷun'n'a* [ib.]—13th c.

മീളുന്നതല്ലാതെ *mīlin'n'* [TAS, VII, p. 92].

1. The change of *i* of *-in'n'u-* to *u* is due to its unaccented position. For a similarly caused change, cf. *ponninkudam* and *ponnuṅgudam*; *vādilkkal* and *vādukkal*.

2. The following present tense forms [with the ending ā-n'in'n'-or-āy-n'in'n'-] occurring in some very old west coast inscriptions and also in KR correspond to the Middle Tam. present tense ending -ā-n'in'd- mentioned in N, 143—

വളരായിന്ന valarāyn'in'n'a [KR, Bāl, 48].

valārān'in'n'a [KR, Ār, 56].

ചെല്ലായിന്ന cellān'in'n'a [BhG, 13, 15].

നടവായിക്ക n'adavān'ilka [KR, Sund., 45].

This present tense ending never struck deep root in Mal. Līl. explicitly points it out [I, 1, comm.] as a Tamil ending.

4. PAST TENSE

The formation of the past stem with-t-[and its sandhi modifications] or-with- i- is guided in Mal. by the same rules as in Tamil [cf. my MOTV]; but the following peculiarities in Mal. deserve notice.

1. The palatalisation of -tt-> -cc, nd>ñj>ññ, and the change of nd' and n'd to n'n' form features of Mal. phonology, the chronology of which I have referred to in my GL.

2. The sandhi change of original-*ind*-to-*nn*-> *n*-, as in the following, is another special Mal. development:—താന്നു *tānn*- [< **tāndu* < *tāl*-nd-, the past stem of *tāl*] or *tān*- [US, II, 69], beside താന്ന' *tān'n'*- [VR, p. 263]; ഇന്നു *inn*- [RC, 40]; പിന്നു *vin*- [KR, Ār., 126] beside the more modern പിന്ന' *vin*- [US]; ഉമ്മിന്നു *uminn*- [KR, Ār., 77] beside ഉമ്മിന്നു *uminnu* [Rām. camp.]; പൂക്കുന്നു *pugann*- [Rām. camp.] beside *puga*n'n'- [E] Bh]; മകുന്നു *maginn*- [Rām. camp. Ang] beside *magi*n'n'- [E] Bh]; കമുന്നു *kaminn*- [Rām. camp.] beside *kama*n'n'-; വാങ്ങുക *vānn*-*aru*lun'n'a [TAS, IV, p. 86] beside *va*nn' *vān*d- [TAS, IV, p. 19 (12th c.); *nūn*-[< *nū*nd] [Rām. camp.]; ആന്നു *ānn*- [Līl., cit., 1, 3] beside *ān*n'-; അമുന്നു *amin*- [ib.]; കേുന്നു *kēnn*- [KBhāg.] beside *kēn*-.

In modern speech, *vin*-, *vān*-, *tān*- [with reduction of *nn* to *n*] are heard. In some areas *tān'n'*- instead of *tān*-; *cūn'n'*- instead of *cūn*- also exist.

1 cf. *cūn*'n'u [RC, 763]; *mūppu vān'n'e* in an early 17th c. document [KSP, I, p. 26].

3. The older past stems of *cār-*¹ and *kudaṛ-* were respectively *cār'n'n'-* [VR] and *kudaṛ'n'n'-* [E] Bh], while *cāri-* and *kudaṛi-* appear to be common today.

Regional variations in past stems also appear to exist. *pūṇḍ-* of North Mal. corresponds to *pūḷi* of the south, both meaning 'having cut open into slices'. *mūḷ-* 'to hum in approval' has both *mūḷ-i-* and *mūṇḍ-* as its past stems.

vīy 'to blow, as the wind' has in Malayāḷam two past stems, both used in Old Mal. texts : *vīd-* and *vīyi-*; but the alternative *vīṣ-* (which alone is used today) has always had *vīṣi-* for its past stem.

īr- 'to split' has *īr'n'n'-* and *īri-* for its past stems; the variation appears to be regional. *mudir'n'n'-* and *mudirtt-* are both used in the texts as the past stem of *raudir-*; in modern Mal. *mudir'n'n'-* is common.

4. *coll-* has the past stem *coll-i-*, on which are based tense-forms like *collinēn* > *connēn*, or *colli-y-ēn* [Bh Bh]; but the existence of forms like *connān*, *connēn* has led to the use of *connu* also without the personal ending, as in KG [e. g., Kamsam., l. 168.]

The past stem was also confused as *cond'-* [cf. *cond'al* in US, II, 14], just as the past stem *van'n'* [< *vand-*] was often in old texts written wrongly as *vand'-*. In the citations of L, I find *പിറന്ദൻ* *piṛand'an* [2, 11, comm.], *തൻ* *tand'-* [for *tan'n'-*], *തുറൻ* *tuṛand'* [for *tuṛan'n'-*] in L, 4, 7 cit.

5. *എഴുന്നിൽ* *eḷun'ilkk* is a very ancient Mal. compound verb base expressing the indispensable idea of 'standing up from a sitting to a rising posture'. The past stem of this compounded base appears normally as *eḷun'in'n'-* in several contexts in the works of the Niraṇam Paṇikkars [e. g. in KR, Ār.] and occurs in the 17th c. *Kirāt.*, Kīḷipp. 4, l. 72.

But the more modern *eḷun'eṭṭ'* also appears in US, KG and other works. Apparently, the compound nature of the base had been lost sight of, the base itself was written as *eḷun'eḷk-*, and

1 cf. *ചരൻവട് ചരയിച്ചുഴതിയൊലും മതി* *cār'n'n'avarkku cāri-y-eḷudiyālum mādi* [KU, p. 37].

[on the analogy perhaps of the past stem $\bar{e}l\text{-}kk\text{-}$] the new stem $e\bar{u}n'\bar{e}l\text{-}$ came to be used.

Colloquially, the base has undergone further alterations. By the sandhi of $l+n=n$ [cf. $t\bar{a}n\text{-} < t\bar{a}l\text{-}nd\text{-}$], the base has assumed the form $e\bar{n}ikk\text{-}$ [cf. എന്നിക്കു $e\bar{n}ippiccu$ Bh Bh, 2, p. 88] and എന്നിക്കാടി $e\bar{n}i\bar{t}\bar{t}\text{-}o\bar{d}i$ [ib., 2, p. 90], with its past stem as $e\bar{n}i\bar{t}\bar{t}\text{-}$, which is sometimes still further contracted to $\bar{e}l\bar{t}\bar{t}\text{-}$ [Nāg. 2, 25].

5. Bh Bh uses past tense forms like മാടത്തിയാൻ $ma\bar{d}a\bar{n}\bar{n}iy\bar{a}n$, കൊല്ലിയാൻ $colli\bar{y}\bar{a}n$, അടങ്ങിയാൻ $a\bar{d}a\bar{n}\bar{n}iy\bar{a}n$, as if formed directly from relative participles of the type having $-iya$. Tam. does not usually show such finites, for which $a\bar{d}a\bar{n}gin\bar{a}n$, etc. [with-in-] would ordinarily be used, the $a\bar{d}a\bar{n}giy\bar{a}n$ type being regarded in Tamil as a participial noun; but $p\bar{o}y\bar{a}n$, $p\bar{o}y\bar{a}r$, $\bar{a}y\bar{a}n$, $\bar{a}y\bar{a}r$ occur in Tamil and in early Mal. $Ma\bar{d}a\bar{n}\bar{n}iy\bar{a}n$, etc. were perhaps formed on the analogy of $p\bar{o}y\bar{a}n$, $\bar{a}y\bar{a}n$, common in early Mal.

$E\bar{l}$ uses occasionally forms like മുടക്കിയൻ $mu\bar{d}akkiy\bar{e}n$ [Rām., p. 60], $mu\bar{d}akkiy\bar{a}$ [ib., p. 61].

The "archaic" form പോയിനൻ $p\bar{o}y\bar{i}n\bar{e}n$ occurs in KG, Rugm, l. 71; but this is perhaps unique.

5. THE FUTURE TENSE

Two types exist in Mal:—1. the $-um$ type denoting future and "aoristic" tense-significations; 2. the older type with $-v\text{-}$, $-m$ [Tam. $-b\text{-}$, after nasals of bases], $-pp\text{-}$, which type appears with personal endings.

The-um type

1. In Tamil, the tense with $-um$ appears only in connection with the third person singular "rational" [masculine and feminine] and third personal "irrational" singular and plural.

TC, 227 and N, 348 expressly prohibit the use of this tense in connection with the first person, the second person and the third person "rational" plural.

The $s\bar{u}tra$ of TC deserves to be cited: $pall\bar{o}r\ pa\bar{d}arkkai\ munnilai\ tanmai\text{-}y\text{-}avvayin\ m\bar{u}n\bar{r}um\ n'iga\bar{l}un\text{-}g\bar{a}lattu\text{-}c\text{-}ceyyum\text{-}en\bar{r}um\ ki\bar{l}aviyo\bar{d}u\ ko\bar{l}\bar{l}\bar{a}$.

1. I use the term "aorist" in its literal sense viz "indeterminate" or "undefined".

An important point to be noted from this particular sūtra is that the tense with -um is regarded as having the force of n'igal kalam 'present tense'.

But this tense-signification does not appear to be exclusive according to Tolkāppiyam col.; for, sūtra 240 envisages an "aoristic" or "indeterminate" signification also: munnilai kalamum tōṇṇum iyarkai-y-emmurai-c-collu[m] nigaḷuṅ-gālattu meyn'n'ilai-p-podu-c-col kiḷattal vēṇḍum. The sūtra refers to actions which are true of the past, present and future, as in nāyir-iyāṅgum, etc. [cf. Mal. paṣu pullu tinnum].

In Middle Tamil the restriction of the use of the -um tense to the third person "rational" singular and to the third person "irrational" singular and plural continues [N, 348]; but the tense is described in N, 145 as denoting the "present" and "future" meanings [nigaḷpu and edirvu].

In the colloquial Tamil of today, the -um tense appears only (i) after "irrational" subjects [both singular and plural] and (ii) with "future" as well as indeterminate "eternal present" meanings.

The Old Tam. grammar TC thus envisages this tense as "present" and "aoristic", while Nannūl regards it as having "present" and "future" meanings; and in the colloquial today this type has "future" and "aoristic" values.

The primary signification was perhaps "aoristic" with a bias for the "present-future" values. Not only the Tamil type but the Telugu counterpart ceyun (which, be it noted here, is exactly as in Tam. used only for singular masculines and feminines and singular and plural "irrationals") has also "aoristic" values which may be interpreted according to the context as present, future or (rarely) past [see Āndhraśabdānuśāsana, II, p. 119]. The Kannaḍa counterpart with-g-um is also "aoristic" though used for all third personal forms [Kittel's Gr., p. 146].

I cannot for my part agree with the view that because TC describes it as a "present" tense, its primary signification was exclusively "present". In the first place TC itself envisages an "aoristic" value. Secondly, a "present" tense of this kind

could not have been limited to a few third personal forms. Thirdly, the evidence of the usage of the Telugu and Kannaḍa counterparts is definite in pointing to "aoristic" values. Nor could this type have been exclusively "future", in view of the existence of a regular future type (with *v*, *b*, *pp*) in Tamil.

Everything therefore points to the conclusion that the -um tense was originally employed as an "aoristic" action-type with a "present-future" bias. Instances with -um in Śaṅgam texts like *Puṛaṇānūru* and *Naṭṭiṇai* have "indeterminate" values. On an examination of *Puṛaṇānūru*, for instance, I find that the -um type is commonly used as an aorist, though this may include a present tense force [cf. *ceyyum-i-v- vigaḷē* in 45; *nēl viḷaiyum, paḷam vīḷkkum, vaḷḷi-k- kiḷaṅgu vīḷkkum* in Verse 109]. Instances from *Kalittogai* (another Śaṅgam work) like *el-vaḷai irai-y-ūrummē* [I, 7, 16], though capable of being translated into the present or the future meanings, appear to be fundamentally "indeterminate" in tense-idea with a bias for the present or future meanings.

If it is asked why the use of this "aoristic" tense was restricted to the third person, I should answer that perhaps there were far more contexts in which the third person was associated with "eternal" or "habitual" actions than those connected with the first and the second persons.

Since Tam. had a regular future tense with -*v*-, -*b*-, -*pp*-, the "future" value ascribed to the -um type by the *Nannūl Sūtra* might have been isolated in Tamil from the "aoristic" type. Such a future value exists (besides other values) for Telugu *ceyyun* type. The Kannaḍa tense with -*g*-um allied to the type under reference, however, always had the aoristic value, and -*g*-um was employed in Kannaḍa for all third persons [as a development from the stage denoted by that of Tam. and Telugu, where it was restricted to certain forms of the third person, as pointed out above].

Coming to Mal., I note the following features:—

1. In the earliest texts, this tense appears only after the third person sing. and plural "rationals" and after the third

person singular and plural “irrationals”, the only difference between early Old Mal. and Tam. being that Mal. shows -um after third personal rational plurals also. The other “persons” are not generally associated with the -um tense in US, RC, KR, KBhr, Bh G.

ഇവരൊരിക്കളും എന്നെന്നെയും ivar enne ariyum [KBhr, p. 116] where the -um finite is used for pallōr paḍarkkai [=third pers. rational pl.] for which it is prohibited expressly in Tamil.

കരക്കുപടയും കൊടിയമന്നവരും മുടിയും paḍayum mannavarum muḍiyum [RC, 63]; mēvin'n'avar vīlum [Bh G, 4, 9]; ആനന്ദിച്ചവർകളും അവനിയിൽവന്നുപിറക്കും van'nupirakkum [BhG, 8, 9].

By about the fifteenth century, the texts show the -um tense in connection with the first and the second persons. KG. and the early campus have instances:—

നല്ലം നീ nalgum nī [K G, Rājas., l. 83]

നിങ്ങൾക്കുടം nīññaḷ kūḍum [K G, Kṛṣṇ., l. 578]

തങ്ങളും നീയും നതിച്ചുപോമേ taññaḷum nīyumu nāsiccu pōmē [KG, Rājas., l. 302]

ഞങ്ങൾ മറക്കും ñāññaḷ marakkum [ib., Vals., l. 562]

അടുത്തുമാറാൻ aḍaṇṇumō nāṁ [Rām. camp., Sugr, 16]

നാം ഇരുവരുമേ ചേരും nāṁ iruvarumē cērum [ib., Rāv.]

നീയായ് വരുന്നീ nī-y-ā varum nī [Rām. camp., Paṭṭ., 95]

The extension of -um to the first and the second persons, judged from the evidence of the texts, was certainly gradual; but, as the above instances show, there can be little doubt that the extension of -um to persons other than the third one in Mal. colloquial may by this time have been more or less advanced, and though the older literary tradition continued to be respected [even by E] and by other writers of the New Mal. period], as in the use of ñān taruvan [instead of ñān tarum], the characteristic Mal. practice of using -um in connection with all “persons” might have been more or less completely developed in the living speech by the fifteenth century.

This use became gradually more and more popular in the texts. In the present-day colloquial, forms like ñān tarum, avan varum, nī varum are exclusively used.

2. The second important feature of Mal. is that from the earliest texts down till today, the significations attached to this tense are the "aoristic" and the "future" ones. This may be compared to what is envisaged by Nannūl for Middle Tam.

While, however, Middle Tam. more commonly used the future with- v-, etc. (followed by personal endings) for the third personal "rationals", the earliest texts of Mal., employ-um for these "rationals" (sing and pl.) in order to convey the "future" idea. In fact -um had become in Mal. by about the beginning of the literary era a common future ending in connection with all third personal forms. Gradually, it became indispensable for other persons also; and today the "future" type in Mal. is with the -um ending, though the "aoristic" signification also may in some contexts be conveyed by this tense.

The following points emerge from this discussion:—

(a) The use of -um in the earliest Mal. texts corresponds, generally speaking, to that of Middle Tamil, except for the fact that the -um type as a future had become very common in third person sing. and pl. "rationals" in Mal., while in Middle Tam. it was used in connection only with singulars among the "rationals", and here too only as an "indeterminate" tense.

(b) The gradual extension of -um to all persons in Mal. came to be mirrored in the texts from about the 15th century.

(c) New Mal. definitely fixed the -um tense to denote the "future" and the aoristic significations, while modern Tamil has gone its own way in retaining the future -v-, -b-, -pp- for all persons except the third person "irrationals."

The future with v, m, pp, followed by personal endings.

The future forms with v, m [Ta n. b] and pp, followed by personal endings, occur in Old Mal. texts. Līl. expressly refers to them, RC and the Panikkars use them freely, and they are not unrepresented in KG; but by the time of E₁ they have disappeared from the texts, except in the first person sing. with the personal ending-an,—a dominant type in Mal. which is very frequently used by E₁ and which is also met with in many folk-songs.

6. THE AORISTIC TENSE WITH \bar{u}

This is a unique tense-type in Mal., not unrepresented in the earliest inscriptions. Both Gundert and Kēraḷa Pāṇini regarded this type as a "future" tense; but, as will be seen below, it has to be considered as fundamentally an "aoristic" type in view of its meanings and applications (though its aoristic force may in some contexts be interpreted as "future").

ആറനാഴി നെൽ തിരുപ്പുകെക്കുള്ളു $u\bar{l}\bar{u}$ [TAS, II, p. 184—9th or 10th c.]

[That this $u\bar{l}\bar{u}$ is equivalent in meaning to $o\bar{l}\bar{i}du = u\bar{l}\bar{a}du$ is clear from ആറകചമം തിരുപ്പുനന്തതിന്നുള്ളതു $o\bar{l}\bar{i}du$ in TAS, II, p. 184]

അതിനിൽപൊലികൊറവെം ഇരുപത്തെമ്പതെ $ko\bar{l}v\bar{u}$ [TAS, II, p. 186—9th or 10th c.]

കുള്ളു $o\bar{l}\bar{u}$ [TAS, IV, p. 46—12th c.]

ഇരുനാഴി അരികൊടുപ്പു $ko\bar{d}upp\bar{u}$ [TAS, VII, p. 66—13th c.]

[The same inscription has $ko\bar{d}uppadu$ with the same "hortative" meaning].

ഊട്ടു $u\bar{t}\bar{t}uv\bar{u}$ [TAS, III, p. 209—13th c.]

(a) Structure of the tense with- \bar{u} . After -y, -l, -ḷ and ḷ, of bases the u is preceded by-v; by m after final nasals of bases; and by -pp- after kārita bases with -kk-: ceyvū, koḷvū, kāṇmū, koḍuppū, inscrip- tional $u\bar{t}\bar{t}uv\bar{u}$ etc. Except the ppū type, the others appear without v and m also, as in $ko\bar{l}\bar{u}$, ceyyū, kāṇū. Obviously, $ko\bar{l}\bar{u}$, ceyyū, etc. may have been "reductions" of koḷvū, ceyvū, etc. [cf. $ko\bar{l}\bar{ā}n$ from koḷvān; ceyyin < ceyvin; kāṇān < kāṇmān].

Structurally, the forms have v, m and pp, like the forms of the future formed as in Tamil (except for the m of Mal. which answers to -b-, after nasals, of Tamil).

(b) The significations of the type are the following:—

(i) a purely "indeterminate" meaning:—

എങ്ങനെ മനസ്സിലാക്കു $po\bar{r}upp\bar{u}$ [K Bhāg., p. 205]

എങ്ങനെ രോഗം ഇളക്കു $i\bar{l}app\bar{u}$ [ib., p. 262]

എന്തുളളഫലം $u\bar{l}\bar{u}$ [KR, Utt., 96]

ശാസിപ്പു എന്നതും താഡിപ്പു എന്നതും śāsippu....tādippu [KG, Ulukh., l. 579 and l. 580]

The following also show ̣: —

എങ്ങു eṇṇū [E] Bh]

അല്ല allū [Rām. camp., Sitāpari., 72]

ചാരത്തു cārattū [KG, Rājas., l. 224]

എവിടത്തു eviḍattū [Nāḍḍan., 2, 104]

By analogy, ̣ appears in the following:—

കയ്യിലു kayyilū [KG, Kucēl., l. 84]

ഉള്ളിലു ullilū [ib.] Vals., l. 569

വലിയു valiyū [Bharatavākya., 65]

(ii) “Aoristic”:—“eternal” actions:—

തങ്കലിക്കാച്ചുത തങ്കൽ വീഴു vīlū [Rām. camp., Vicch., gadya]

പാററ ഉണ്ടല്ലി വിളക്കത്തു വീണുചാവു cāvū [Bh Bh, 1, p. 44]

സഞ്ജനനീന്ദകൊണ്ടു ഭജനം സന്തോഷിപ്പു santōṣippū [E] Bh]

(iii) “Aoristic”:—Habit, custom, or actions extending for a period of time:—

ചിലർ പത്തുകിടാവറു, ചിലർ കാളയാറു, ചിലർ പടവമുടിക്കളിപ്പു, ചിലർ പക്കിൾകളപ്പോലേ കരവു cilar paṣukkiḍāv-āvū, cilar kṛṣṭa-y-āvū, cilar puḍava mūḍi-k-kaḷippū, cilar pakṣigale-p-pole karavū [BhBh, 1, p. 42].

മനം ഞാൻ കേട്ടിരിപ്പു kēṭṭirippū [E] Rām, p. 22].

(iv) In “conditional” constructions containing a restrictive condition denoted by a preceding form with the restrictive particle ̣:—

ഇലക്കൈക്കോനേ വരുവാനുള്ള [RC, 745].

ഉണ്ടായേ മതിയവു madi-y-āvū [K Bhāg., p. 47].

സേവിക്കേ വേണ്ടു sēvikke vēṇḍū [K Bhāg., p. 255].

ഭവാൻ ഒരുത്തനേ ശേഷിപ്പു bhavān oruttanē śēṣippū [BhBh, 1, 12].

കൊന്നു മുടിക്കിലേ കോപം തീരൂ kon'n'u muḍikkilē kōpam tīrū [KG]

നീനുടെ കാരുണ്യം എന്നേ ആറു n'innude kāruṇyam en'nē-y-āvū [KG]

1 On p. 74 of BhBh, Vol. 1, കരയുക karayuga as a verbal noun with the force of an aorist is equated in meaning to കരവു, in the following sentence-sequence: പക്കിൾകളപ്പോലേ കരയുക; തവള കരവു.

(v) As imperatives:—

നിങ്ങൾ കേൾപ്പു *kēlppu* [US, 1, 36], ചാരത്തുകാണുന്ന ഭാരിക തന്നെയും.....കൊണ്ടിങ്ങുപോന്നു കൊൾവു *koḷvu* [KG, Kṛṣṇ., l. 582], എൻ പിഴ നി പൊറപ്പു *poruppu* [KG, Vals., l. 1551].

നിങ്ങൾ അടുത്തു കൊൾവു *koḷvu* [KG, Kamsam., l 190.].

നി കണ്ടു ചൊൽവു *colvu* [i.b, l. 222].

പേരിട്ടുകൊള്ളു നാം *kolḷu* [KG, Ulūkh., l. 118].

നി നിൽപ്പു, കളിപ്പു, കാൺമു *n'ilpu*, *kaḷippu*, *kāṇmu* [Rām. camp., Sitāsway, 104 ff.]

(vi) "Aoristic", with a bias for the "future":—

എതുകൊണ്ടു തോല്പിച്ചു ഞാൻ *tōlpippu* [= *tōlpippadu*; KG. Ulūkh., l. 740].

ഇങ്ങനെ ഞാൻ ചെയ്തു *ceyvū* [BhBh, 1, p. 5].

(c) In present-day Malayālam, the following syntactic functions alone exist for this type:—

(i) The form is most commonly and frequently used along with a restrictive word or phrase preceding it, the "restriction" being denoted by the particle *ē* attached to the form expressing the idea so restricted:—

അവനെ വത്രു *avanē varu*

നാളയേ വായിക്കു *nāḷayē vāyikkū*

അനുഭവിച്ചേ അറിയു *anubhaviccē ariyū*

ഇതേ മതിയാവു *idē madi-y-āvu*

ആരപേരേ വന്നിട്ടുള്ളു *ārupēre van'n'itt-uḷḷu*

അനുജനെ വരികയുള്ളു *anujanē variga-y-uḷḷu*

(ii) As an "aorist" it appears in questions implying gentle "doubt":—

എന്തുവേണ്ടു *endu vēṇḍu*

എന്തുളളു *end-uḷḷu* [more common in Travancore]

(iii) In modern poetic compositions, the forms are used with an "aoristic" signification which sometimes amounts to a lasting present tense:—

ചങ്ങനാശ്വേപം ചാത്തിങ്ങുളളിപ്പു ഹരിമഖം *śōbhippu* [Vallattōḷ's *Bhaktiyum Vibhaktiyum*]. This usage is, however, limited to poetry.

The probable origin of this tense.

The suggestion that the -ū of this tense-type may have been a reduced form of -um is, I think, untenable for three reasons:— (a) the structure of forms like koļvū, ceyvū, koḍuppū, ūṭṭuvū [inscriptional], kāṇmu definitely rules out the possibility of any straight connection with -um; for, -um is never associated with -v-, -pp or -m-; (b) -um was employed originally and primarily in connection with third personal forms alone, while the -ū tense has been associated from a very early period with all persons; (c) many of the syntactic functions of the ū tense cannot be conveyed by the -um tense.

The explanation of the origin of the ū- tense has to be sought in a different direction altogether.

(a) Now it is a remarkable fact that the “neuter” participial nouns of the type of ceyvadu with its variants ceyvidu and ceyvūdu would express the chief syntactic significations conveyed by the ū tense:—

“Aoristic” bhāvavacana “Imperative”—
or verbal noun—

1. Ceyvadu type—

എന്തെ പറവതു paravadu
[Kalyāṇ., 11]

ആർ പോവതു pōvadu
[RC].

പറവതു കേട്ടടനേ paravadu
[KR, Ar., 225].

കാപ്പതു ഞാൻ kāppadu
[BhG, 10, 14].

2. Ceyvidu type—

ചൊല്ലവിതുമ്പയ്ക്കൻ collu-
vidum [Bh Bh, I, p. 6]

ഞാൻ നടത്തുവിത n'aḍattu-
vidu [RC, 638].

3. Ceyvūdu type—

എങ്ങ നോക്കാവുതു n'ōkkā-
vūdu [US, I, 9].

എങ്ങനെ ഞങ്ങൾചൊറപ്പുതു
poṟuppūdu [KG, Gōp.,
l. 685].

അലയുവുതു മുണ്ടു ala-
yuvūdum [Bh Bh, 2, p. 18].

കൊൾവതു koļvadu [TAS,
II, p. 174—10th c.].

രാമൻ ചിരം കളവതു kaḷa-
vadu [RC, 65].

ഭേദക്കവിത oḍukkuvidu
[TAS, II, p. 173—10th c.].

ഔവിത oḷividu [TAS,
III, p. 32—12th c.].

നിപോവിത വടക്കനോക്കി
pōvidu [RC, 532]

നി കുറിക്കൊൾവതു kuṛi-k-
koļvūdu [US, 2, 97].

കളവുതു kaḷavūdu [RC,
347].

Forms like *koḍuppūḍum*, *irippūḍum*, *ṭḍūḍum*, etc., used in *BhBh* and other texts, have a verbal noun force.

4. *Ceyvū* type—

താൻനില്ക്കുന്നതു് *śāsippū*
[KG, *Uṭṭh.*, l. 579]

For instances, see above.

താൻനില്ക്കുന്നതു് *tāḍippū*
[ib., l. 580]

എങ്ങനെ പുലർന്നു
കൊൾവു *koḷvū* [ib., l. 486]

These types are thus intimately inter-related in respect of their primary syntactic functions.

(b) Now, the neuter participial noun of the *ceyvadu* type is employed in Tamil both as a pure participial and as a gentle “imperative” (though the latter is a colloquial feature, generally speaking). In Kannaḍa, express literary recognition has been given to the verbal noun signification and to the imperative meaning [in the second and third persons, sing. and plural] for the *geyvadu* type [Kittel’s *Gr.*, p. 149]. The use of this type therefore, as a *bhāṇavacana* and as an imperative is common to Tam., Kannaḍa and Mal.

The structural variant, with final *-idu*, of *ceyvadu* has been recorded as existing in Tam. (perhaps in the colloquial, reflected in the inscriptions of the Early Middle Tam. period) by *Perundēvanār*, the 11th or 12th century commentator of *Vīracōḷiyam*.

On the other hand, grammatical and literary recognition has been accorded in Kannaḍa to forms like *geyvudu* in the ancient and medieval dialects of Kannaḍa.

Thus one notes that while Tam. had *ceyvadu* and *ceyvidu* and Kannaḍa had *geyvadu* and *geyvudu*, Mal. had *ceyvadu*, *ceyvidu* and *ceyvūdu*.

These facts lead me to think that structurally these “neuter” participials with *-idu* and *-udu* (*ūdu*) are variants of those having *-adu*. Gundert [*Gr.*, p. 74] considers *-idu* and *-udu* as respectively the proximate and intermediate demonstratives; and Kannaḍa grammarians also postulate *-ūdu* of old *geyvudu* as standing for the intermediate demonstrative.

So far as Mal. forms with *-udu* or *-ūdu* are concerned, it is doubtful whether one can assuredly say that *-udu* stands for the

intermediate demonstrative. This demonstrative which (be it said here) is of rare occurrence in Tamil and Kannaḍa (as an independent form) does not exist independently in Mal. at all. The participials with -idu may (in the absence of any evidence to connect them directly with the proximate and intermediate demonstratives) very well be viewed as phonetic variants of the participials with -adu. Lack of stress could account for -idu, while -udu and ūdu may easily have arisen from -uvadu of forms like ṭḍuvadu [> ṭḍūdu], iṛaṇṇu-vadu [> iṛaṇṇūdu].

(c) Be this as it may, it is with neuter participials of the type of ചെയ്‌വുതു ceyvūdu, കണ്ടു ṭḍūdu and കൊണ്ടു koḍuppūdu, that the aoristic ceyvū, ṭḍū and koḍuppū of Mal. have to be connected. Functionally and structurally, the ū tense is intimately related to the ceyvadu, koḍuppadu type and its variants.

From forms like ചെയ്‌വുതു celvūdu, കൊണ്ടു koḍuppūdu, the finals might have been dropped, and aoristic and imperative types like celvū, koḍuppū may have been formed. Similarly, ഉല്ലൂdu, എണ്ണൂdu, നല്ലൂdu (participials with ū analogically introduced) would yield ullū, eṇṇū and n'allū. I have not come across instances like allūdu (for alladu) and eviḍattūdu (for eviḍattadu); the formation of allū (occurring in the campus) and of eviḍattū may have been due to analogy. kayyilū (of KG) n'ingalū (of E1), വരേണമു varēṇmū [Rām. camp., Vicch., gadya] കേരണമു ṭṛkkēṇmū [ib., Udyān., 75] [these two latter forms are contractions of വരേണമു and കേരണമു] also owe their ū perhaps to analogy.

The structural -v-, -m and -pp-, and the "aoristic" basis of the semantic ramifications in the different contexts in which these forms are used, make it probable that the final forms with -ū (sometimes also appearing as short u) arose from the truncation of participials like ṭḍūdu, koḍuppūdu, celvūdu, the process of truncation perhaps having been facilitated by the disintegration of personal endings in Mal.¹

1 In the process of the popularisation of this ഉ- type, perhaps instances like കൂമിയവോ [TAS, II, p. 176] and ചെലവവോ [TAS, III, p. 187] may have also exercised some influence.

7. INFINITIVE PARTICIPLES.

The history of the infinitive participles in Mal. forms one of the most important chapters of the evolution of Mal. morphology.

The Śaṅgam texts of Old Tamil had only the type with final -a [which appeared as -pp-a in connection with *kārita* verb-bases having -kk]; and this type expressed “simultaneity” of action, “sequentiality” and “result” [see my MOTV]. In Middle Tamil however, this type also expressed sometimes the signification of “purpose”; but side by side with this, a new type with -vān-, bān-, -ppān also cropped up in Middle Tamil [V, Dhātu., 8] to denote purpose.

Early Old Mal. employed both the types, the former for expressing “effect”, “simultaneity” and rarely “sequentiality” and “purpose”; and the latter exclusively for denoting “purpose”; gradually, however, the former type began to be displaced in Mal. by other syntactic constructions, and (along with this) the latter was also extended in usage and in syntactic force. To-day, while in Tam. the -vān type exists in the colloquial only in collocations like *colluvān ēn*, it is most active in Mal. colloquial (and literary dialect) in numerous contexts (see below); conversely, while the older type with -a is commonly employed in the modern Tamil colloquial with the significations of “purpose” and rarely of “effect” and “simultaneity”, it has practically disappeared as an active infinitive participle from modern Mal., its existence being traceable only in some syntactic constructions, in a number of words with an “adverbial”, “adjectival” or “postpositional” force, and in a few old proverbs and phrases.

The -a type in early Mal.

(i) With almost the force of a verbal noun:—

ചൊല്ലത്തുകിനാൻ *colla-t-tuḍaṅginān* [RC, 56]

ചൊല്ലുകേട്ട് *colla-k-kēṭṭu* [RC, 128]

ചോകത്തുടങ്ങിനാൻ *pōga-t-tuḍaṅṅinār* [KG, Kṛṣṇ., l. 465].

The more modern constructions പറയുവാൻ *paṛayuvān* *tuḍaṅṅi* for the first illustration above, and *paṛayun'n'adu kēṭṭu* for the second one above, are also not unrepresented in these early texts.

(ii) "Simultaneity"—

ഇവ(ർ)കൾ ഇരിക്കക്കയ്യഴതി *iva(r)gaḷ irikka-k-kayyeḷudi* [TAS, III, p. 172].

വര വര വടക്കു് അടുത്താർ *vara vara vaḍakk- aḍuttār* [RC, 140].

വാനവർകാണമറഞ്ഞു *vānavar kāṇa maraṇṇu* [KR, Bāl., 84].

കാണക്കണ നടന്നു *kāṇa-k-kāṇa n'aḍan'n'u* [Rājarat.]

വീഴ വീഴ, പൊങ്ങപ്പൊങ്ങ *vīḷa vīḷa, poṇṇa-p-poṇṇa* [KG, Vrkās., l. 88 and l. 92].

(iii) "Sequentiality"—

മാതതി പുവാൻചെല്ല..ലകം ചെക്കുതുരചെയ്താൾ *mātrudi pūvān cella..*

lanka ceṟutt-ura ceydāḷ [KR, Sund., 31].

അവൾ ഉര ചെച്ചു..ചൊന്നാൻ ഭരതമവനം *avaḷ ura ceyya,..connān daṣamukhanum* [KR, Ār.].

വായുതന്തുജൻ നേർവഴി ചെല്ല..മെയ്തടവീടിനാൻ വായുഭേവൻ *vāyu tanujan nēr vaḷi cella ...mey taḍaviḍinān vāyu dēvan* [KR, Sund., 9].

(iv) "Effect"—

ചതികട അമർചെയ്തു് *cadi keḍa amar ceydu* [KR, Bāl., 85].

കറവു് അറ മറന്നു് *kuṟav-aṟa maran'n'u* [US, II, 24].

അണയ *aṇaya* [US, I 50].

കൂട്ടമൊത്തന്നു് *kūṭṭam-ā irin'n'u* [TAS, IV, p. 46]; [*ā* = *āga*].

നിവിരഞ്ഞൊഴുതു് *nivira-t-toḷudu*.

കുളിക്കനോക്കി *kuḷurkka n'ōkki* [BhBh, I, p. 48].

വിരിഞ്ചൻ നടുങ്ങേ, പ്രപഞ്ചം കുലുങ്ങേ, ദീനേശൻ മയങ്ങേ *virinjan n'aḍuṇṇē, prapaṇjam kulunṇē, dīnēśan mayanṇē* [Kaly., gadya 5].

(v) "Purpose"—

അടൽ തടുക്കവനപോതു *aḍal taḍukka van'n'a pōdu* [RC, 449].

പൊയ്ക്കൊള്ളവേണ്ടി *poy-k-kollā vēṇḍi* [RC, 44]. This is rather rare. The more common construction is with the *vān*-type.

Except in the contexts mentioned below, this type of old Inf. Participle is not current in New Mal. ¹ The type persisted,

¹ El uses old collocations like *വിരയെപ്പോയ്* [Bh, p. 275], *വില്ലു കുഴിയെക്കലച്ചു* [Bh], *ഒരുത്തർ കേൾക്കപ്പറഞ്ഞീടൊലാ* [Bh, p. 305]. See Ch. VII. for further instances.

at least as a tradition-sanctioned construction, ¹ down till the 17th and 18th centuries, particularly with the syntactic signification of "simultaneity". Forms like *irikkavē*, *n'ōkkavē*, etc., are used in literature even to-day.

The a type in modern Malayalam.

- (i) In proverbs and in old phrases :—

എല്ലാമറിയപ്പെടുന്നതാൽ പല്ല മുറിയെത്തിനാം *ellu muṛiye*
...pallu muṛiye [MP, No. 212].

ഇരുന്നും തൊഴിലും ഇരിക്കക്കൊണ്ടും *irikke-k-keḍum* [MP,
No. 135].

ഇരിക്കപ്പെടുക *irikka-p-poṛudi*

ഇരിക്കക്കട്ടിൽ *irikka-k-kaṭṭil*.

- (ii) "Adverbial":—

കൂടുകൂടെ *kūḍa-k-kūḍe* ²

പരക്കെ *parakke*

തോരത്തോരെ *tōra-t-tōre*

തീരെ *tīre*

എറെ *ēre*

പതുക്കെ *padukke*

പോലെ *pōle*

കുറെ *kuṛe* [കുറയ *kuṛa-*

വളരെ *vaḷare*

ya; cf. കായപ്പറകിൽ in

ഉയരെ *uyare*

Girij., p. 28; കായ

ആകെ *āge*

പൂർണ്ണ *kuṛaya-p-pārka-*

മുമ്പാകെ *mumbāge*

ka, ib. p. 54; കായ

നീളെ *nīle*

കണ്ടല്ല *kuṛaya-k-kaṇ-*

പെരികെ *perige*

ḍalla in *El Bh*].

തറിയെ *tiriye*

കൊ *okke*, the infinitive participle of *okk*-‘to be joined’, has become an almost indispensable word in Mal. Arising as an infinitive participle [cf. Tam. *okka* ‘joined together’ ‘in unison’, etc.], in certain contexts it has become almost a noun in New Mal. with the force of ‘whole’, standing in appositional relationship to the noun-idea governed by it.

In these contexts it is also sometimes declined:—

കൊള്ളം *okkaikkum* [*El Cint.*, p. 27]; ഈ ലോകം കൊള്ളം
ī lōgam okkaikkum [*VR*, p. 28]; കൊള്ളം യജമാനൻ *okkaikkum*

¹ *VR* has some older types like പിച്ഛിപ്പു വിരിയക്കണ്ടം [p. 232],
ലരക്കണ്ടം [p. 262], മുനിമാൻ കേരക്കച്ചൊല്ലിലും [p. 264].

² *El* uses echo-phrases like തുടതൂടപ്പെടുക, ചുടുചുടുത്തു, കടു
കടക്കുക [Bh., p. 343].

yajamānan [Tull., p. 248]; കേയിലും നല്ലതു okkayilum n'alladu.

(iii) "Adjectival":—

Some of those forms in the category (ii) above have, by constant association with nouns, also developed an adjectival force:—

ചെരിക്കെ perige [as in ചെരിക്കെ നാളെക്കു perige n'ālekkū in Bh Bh, I, p. 20; ചെരിക്ക സന്തോഷത്തോടെ perige santōṣ-attōḍe in Eḷ Rām.].

ആകു ṭṭa or ആകെ ṭṭe [cf. ആകനിലം അറവതുവരെ ṭṭa n'ilam aṛabadu paṛai in TAS, IV, p. 46 (12th c.)].

വളരെ vaḷare

കുറെ kuṛe < kuṛaya [cf. കായത്താമസം kurayat-t-tāmasam in Tull., p. 381].

എറെ ēre

(iv) "Postpositional":—

അടുക്കെ aḍukke

കൂടെ kūḍe

ഒഴികെ oḷige [Tam. oḷiya]

നേരെ n'ēre

All these are of early origin. The final -e appearing in these expressions is, in my view, only a development in Mal. of the sound ə which the final -a of infinitive participles had at an earlier stage and does have even to-day in colloquial Tamil. In the manuscripts of earlier texts and in the inscriptions, one meets forms written as എറേ ēṛe, വളരേ vaḷare, അകല agalə, കേ okkə [this value exists for this word even to-day in some colloquials], ചെരിക്ക perige, ആക ṭṭe, etc. It is not necessary, therefore, to postulate that -e is the contraction in Mal. of older -a-v-ē. -a-v-ē as in കേവേ okkavē, ഇരിക്കവേ irikka-v-ē, formed of the infinitive participle and the emphatic ē with the glide -v- between, is of course normal, but this need not have been the ancestor of കേക്ക okke, ഇരിക്കെ irikke, etc.

1 It is interesting to note that the original final -a here should have changed in Mal. to ə and then to e at a fairly early stage, as the vocalic glide associated here is only y, the front one, though Tam. infinitive participles embody the back glide v.

(v) In constructions with അരുതു *arudu*, വേണം *vēṇam*, വേണ്ടു *vēṇḍā*, ആം *ām* [< *āgum*], and in compounds with *āg-*, the old infinitive participle has been kept up (with the elision of the final -a of the infinitive participle):—

ചെയ്യരുതു *ceyyarudu*;

ചെയ്യണം *ceyyaṇam* < *ceyya vēṇam*;

ചെയ്യാം *ceyyām* [Tam. *ceyyal-ām*];

ചെയ്യുക *ceyyāḍ-*, കേൾക്കുക *kēḷkkāḍ-*;

ചെയ്യപ്പെടുക *ceyya-p-peḍ* 'to be done'.

(vi) An early change of the infinitive participle to the conjunctive past participle in constructions like the following, sanctioned even for Tamil by N, 346, is reflected in early Mal. illustrations and preserved in the modern dialect (including the present-day colloquial):—

പറയ്ക്കു തുടങ്ങി *paṛayndu tuḍaṅṅi* [RC, 27]

അമിണ്ണതുടങ്ങിനാർ *amiṇṇu tuḍaṅṅinār* [KG, Vals., l. 179]

നന്നായി ഉടുക്കും *n'an'n'āy uḍukkum* [KG, Vals., l. 989]

This constructional type is quite common in Mal. to-day, Tamil colloquial usage however, has *śolla ārambiccān*, *śeyya ārambiccān* and *nand'āga vāśippān*, where the original infinitives are retained.

The infinitive participle of the *vān* type.

This appears in Mal. from the earliest known times and corresponds to the Middle Tamil type [which, as I have pointed out in MOTV, owed its origin to participial nouns like *ōḍuvān* 'he who will run' being interpreted as infinitive participles of purpose in constructions like *ōḍuvān vandān* 'he who will run came' > 'he came in order to run'].

There is one structural peculiarity to be noted in the Mal. forms of this type. While Tam. has the ending -*bān* for bases with final -*n* and *ṇ*, Mal. shows -*mān* [cf. Tam. future *b* for such bases = Mal. -*m*].

The uses of this participle may be classified thus:—

(i) It is used to denote "purpose", when the forms may be reinforced by *āy* or *āykkonḍu*:—സാധിക്കാനായ് *sadhippānāy*, വാഴ്ത്തുവാനായിക്കൊണ്ടു് *vāḷttuvānāykkonḍu*; വരുവാനായിട്ടു *varuvānāyittu*.

(ii) An action about to happen is indicated by the following:—എന്തെ വെരതെ ചാരാൻ പോണം cāvān pōṇu [Tuḷḷ., p. 402]; വഞ്ചി മുങ്ങുവാൻപോകുന്നു muṇṇuvān pōṅun'n'u.

(iii) "Effect" is denoted when takka is employed, as in കൊല്ലുവാൻ തക്ക കുറംചെയ്തു kolluvān takka kuṭṭam.

(iv) The forms have almost the force of a noun in the following:—ചിത്തിച്ചു വേണം നിന്നൊക്കെയ്താൻ cinticcu vēṇam n'ī on'n'u ceyvān [KG, Kṛṣṇōlp., l. 296], വന്തയിൽപോയ" വേണം ഉണ്ടാൻ vanattil pōy vēṇam unṁān [BhBh, I, p. 44].

(v) The following are "pregnant" constructions:—ചട്ടി കലങ്ങും ഉടുപ്പാനും മതി uḍappānum mādi [Tuḷḷ., p. 357] 'quite possible that the pots and utensils might be shattered'. വരാനും മതി varānum mādi; വെളുപ്പാൻ നേരം vēḷuppān n'ēram [Tuḷḷ., p. 325]; വെളുപ്പാൻകാലത്തു" vēḷuppān kālattu; ഉണ്ണാൻ നേരത്തു unṇān n'ērattu; വരുവാൻ എന്തേ varuvān endē; പറയാൻ ഉണ്ടു" parayān unḍu.

(vi) കൂട്ടാൻ kūṭṭān 'curry' [കൂട്ടുവാൻ kūṭṭuvān, as in BhBh, I, p. 50] and മുറുക്കൻ muṛukkān 'pansupari' have almost become nouns to-day.

This infinitive participle type is most active to-day in Mal. with all the significations mentioned above. In Tam. colloquial it is employed to-day only in one context, viz., varuvān ēn, while in Middle Tam. it was employed to denote 'purpose' and in constructions like aṇivān karutt-unḍu, pōvan karutt-illai [cf. commentary on V, Dhātup., 8].

As the infinitive participle with -vān, -mān, -ppān does not express "effect", Mal. employs constructions like the following to denote 'effect':—

അറിയുവാൻചെയ്താൻ aṇiyum-āṇ-ura ceyvān [RC, 2].

അറിയത്തക്കവണ്ണം പറഞ്ഞു aṇiya-t-takka vaṇṇam paraṇṇu [modern].

8. RELATIVE PARTICIPLES.

1. These in Mal. have final -a as in other south Dravidian speeches. The syntactic significations of the rel. participle in Mal. are also on all fours with south Dr. usage.

2. The type ṭḍin-a of Tamil is not common in Mal. except in some of the earlier texts; the Śaṅgam Tam. ṭḍiya type

has always been the popular form in Mal. ഉണ്ടാന്നെ unḍān(a-) oru [US, Intr., 2] and similar instances in the older texts like pōna [⟨pō-y-i-na], āḍina, etc., do not exist in the modern dialect, though employed as archaisms in poetry.

3. The older texts show forms with the endings -an-a instead of normal -a in the following:—

ച)വന്തമ)ഴികളോടും civandana miligalōḍum [RC, 147]

പെയ്യനകണ്ണിരോടും peyd-an-a kaṇṇīrōḍum [RC, 12]

ഇളന്താപം iṭṭana śāpam [RC, 63]

വളർത്തചാല്ലിയോടു valarndana cilliyōḍu [RC, 147.]

കൊണ്ടനപരിചാവതു koṇḍana pariśāvadu [TAS, III, p. 81,

1. 5]

4. Relative participles are combined with various words to denote specialised syntactic meanings:—

(i) With അളവു aḷavu to denote 'time', as in വനളവു varṇṇa-aḷavu, വരും അളവു varum-aḷavu, etc.

The use of aḷavu to denote 'time' exists in Middle Tamil.

aḷavum (with the future rel. participle and with other words) denotes 'limit' in Old Mal., as in Early Middle Tam.; and this aḷavum has developed at a very early stage (in Old Mal.) to ഓളം ōlam [see Chap. V].

(ii) With അപ്പോഴു് appōḷ, ഇടം iḍam (eḍam), as in വനപ്പോഴു് varṇṇappōḷ and older നടക്കുന്നപ്പോഴു് naḍakkunṇappōḷ [Bh Bh, 1, p. 64]; പോയയടം pōyēḍam.

(iii) With ആറു āru to denote 'manner' and with ആരേ ārē to denote 'time':—

പാഞ്ഞവാരം paṇṇa-v-āru; പോകുന്നവാരം pōgun'n'a-v-āru; ചെയ്യുമാറം ceyyumāru.

പാഞ്ഞവാരേ paṇṇa-v-ārē denotes 'time'. The combination denoting 'time' is usually that of the past relative participle and ārē.

The combination of the future rel. participle (having um) and āru implies 'effect' as in varum-āru, āmmāru (āgum-āru).

Except the type with ārē denoting time, all these constructions have counterparts in Middle Tam. Many of them persist in Mal. regional colloquials to-day.

(iv) Another Mal. construction (which has its counterpart in Middle Tam.) is the combination of relative participles with-or-(when a following noun is qualified) or with *ond'u*, *on'n'u* (when no noun is qualified):—നടപ്പോര നേരം *naḍappōru n'ēram* [US, I, 75]; ഉള്ളോൻ ഉൾ-*uḷ-ōnd'u* [US]. This *-oru* or *ōr* appears in such constructions before plural nouns also, as in ബന്ധക്കളായുള്ളൊരു ബന്ധങ്ങളെ *bandhukkaḷāyulḷōru baṇṇaṅge* [E. Rām., p. 54], ഭാഗ്യവിഹിനരായിരിപ്പോരു ബന്ധങ്ങൾ *irippōru baṇṇaṅkku* [BhBh, 2, p. 24]; this would show that *oru* in these contexts has become a mere “expletive”.

5. Mal. allows the use of the “neuter” participial noun to do the duty of the relative participle, as in ഇരുന്നതു കാലം *irun'n'adu kālam* [KR, Ar., 112], മരവുന്നതു നേരം *maruvun'n'adu n'ēram* [E. Rām.], cf. *adu kālam*, *adu māḷiri*, *idu pōle* of Mal. and Middle Tam.

6. Conversely, instances like വിളങ്ങുന്ന കണ്ടാർ *viḷaṅṅun'n'a kaṇḍān* [Irupatt., Rām., 16, 67], കേട്ടുകൊണ്ടു *kēṭṭakōṇḍu* [E. Rām.], വേണ്ടത്ത കാട്ടുന്ന *vēṇḍātta kāṭṭun'n'a* [Caṇakky.], വിഴുന്ന കായാൽ *viḷun'n'a kāyayāl* [Tul., p., 482] show that the mere relative participle was used for the participial neuter noun in these contexts.

7. In the following instances, original future finite “irrational” plurals, having been sometimes used appositionally with their subjects, have come to have a “relational” connection:—

തിരുവിളക്കിനുള്ള പൂമിയംവേം *pūmiyāvō* [TAS, II, p. 176 10th c.—Here, the form is followed in the inscriptional text by the names of the particular lands, so much so that the use of *pūmiyāvō* (< *pūmi-y-āva*) may be regarded as grammatically “predicative”, though the prefixing of the form to the names of the lands suggests a “relational” or “adjectival” connection].

ഇന്നെൽ കൊണ്ടുമെല്ലം ചെലവംവേം *celavāvō* [TAS, III, p. 187, 10th c.].

ചേകോപ്പണി *cēgō-p-paṇi* [TAS, III, p. 50, ll 30, 36—Here the form *cēgō*=*ceyva* (*ceyvava*), has become “adjectival,” as in the following instances also.]

1. The appositional nature of these pl. participials is clearly evident in instances like തരങ്ങവരുന്നവ നേരേതടകൊണ്ടു തട്ടിത്തകളു [El. Bh, p. 302]

കരഞ്ഞോ പിള്ളകളും karaññō [Rām. Camp., Kharav. gadya]
 പാരിച്ചോ ചില പാറകളും pāriccō [ib., gadya]
 ഉപക്കിപ്പോ ചില കഥകള upakarippō [Pr. Gr. Bh, p. 263]
 ശരീരപാതമേതുളുത്തളായിരിപ്പോ ചിലവ irippō cilava [Praiṣ.

p. 31]

8. ചെയ്തുവർ ceyvavar [KR, Ār., 18], നടപ്പവർ n'adappavar, ആടിടുവോൻഘ് ṛḍiḍuvōnd'u [US, 2, 44], ആയോന്ഘ് āvōa'n'u [Bh Bh] perhaps presuppose future rel. participles with v, p, though such participles have no independent existence [except "derivatively" as in 7 above] in Tam. or in Mal.

9. CONDITIONALS AND CONCESSIVES.

1. While the old Tam. conditional ending was -in or -ayin [the latter suffixed to the full tense-form], Middle Tam. had -il and -āgil besides the old Tam. endings [V, Dhāt. 10]; -il appears suffixed to the verb-base, and -āgil was suffixed to the finite tense-forms or to the past stem. The earliest Mal. formations are like Middle Tam. ones:

വരിൽ var-il [KR, Bāl., 100.]

തരിൽ taril [Lil., 7, 5, cit.]

കാണുന്നതാകിൽ kaṇun'n'ūd-āgil [KG, Saubh., l. 114]

പോയാകിൽ pōyāgil [KG, Syamant., l. 69]

ചെയ്യിട്ടിൽ ceydīḍil [E. Bh, p. 258] beside ceydīḍugil.

But on account of the influence of forms like -āgil and -pōgil [where -g- is a reinforcer appearing in the conditional, the infinitive participle and the future forms], from a very early period -g- has been incorporated in the conditional endings of all verb-bases other than those with the kārita affix -kk:—

കഴികിൽ kaḷigil [TAS, II, p. 174—10th c.]

ചെയ്യിൽ cey-g-il

കൊടുക്കിൽ koḷ-g-il

കുറെക്കിൽ kuṛaikkil

വരുത്തുകിൽ varuttu-g-il [KR, Bāl., 16]

} [TAS, III, p. 194 ff.]

And this -g-il has become a characteristic Mal. conditional suffix in bases of this type. Cf. L, II, 25.

The -g-il conditional is not current in present-day colloquial which uses the conditional formed of the past stem and -āl; but -gil appears to have been common down till the 19th century.

2. A special development of this -g-il appears in Mal. proverbs in the concessives with -ūl-um, as in the following:—

തിന്നുലു tinnūlum [MP, No. 462]

കൊടുക്കുലു koḍukkūlum [ib., No. 89]

I cannot agree with Gundert when he says that the ū of -ūlum is the Mal. "second future affix ū"; on the other hand, it would be more natural to explain forms like tinnūlum from tinnuvilum [< tinnugilum], since -il or -g-il is never suffixed to the future finite (or to any finite tense) in Mal. or in Tamil, and further since even to-day the form on'n'ūlo alternates in the colloquial with on'n'uvilō and on'n'ugilō illustrating, so to say, the phonetic change.

3. -āl, suffixed to the past stem, expresses the conditional idea in Middle Tam. and in Mal., as in Mal. van'n'āl, ceydāl.

This form is very rare in Śaṅgam Tamil and appears to have become active only in early Middle Tam. [V, Dhātu., 10].

Mal. has had this form from the earliest period and it remains the most active conditional form to-day in Mal.

4. The chief concessives are formed, as in Tamil and in other south Dravidian languages, with the samucaccaya-um annexed to the conditionals. In Mal., these are -il-um, and -āl-um [the latter after the past stem].

There are, however, a few forms in Mal. with -ān-um, -ēl-um, and -ēnum. Of these, ānum in forms like ārānum, ēññānum, are common and they exist even to-day. ālum, -ēlum and -ēnum, in forms like the following, are Old Mal :—ആരലു arālum [KG, Rugm, l. 113]; ആരേലു ārēlum [ib., Hēm., l. 68]; എങ്ങേനും eññēnum [RC, 36].

Now, all these endings are Middle Tam. terminations, occurring not only after ār, eññ- as in Mal., but also after verb forms; -ānum and ēnum are concessives in Middle Tam., while, besides ēlum, ēl also occurs as a conditional ending in Middle Tamil.

These endings are absent in Old Tamil in which the conditional is either with -in- suffixed to the verb base as in ceyin, or with āyin [< āg-in, the conditional with -in of āg- 'to become'] suffixed to the tense-form.

I consider that -ān [of-ānum], -ēn [of-ēnum] and -ēl are contractions of -āyin and -āyil [which latter is a variant with -il of āyin].

The phonetic change of -āy- to -ē- is analogous to the change of Mal. n'an'n'āy to colloquial n'an'n'ē.

The variant-ēn-of āyin exists in Telugu also as a conditional ending.

5. In this connection, the following forms of Mal. deserve to be noted:—

[Nom.] ആറാൻ പറയുമോ āraṇ paṛayumō [Mōks., p. 1]

[Gen.] ആരാന്റെ ārand'e [MP, Nos. 109, 111, 112]

[Acc.] ആരാനെ āraṇe [MP, No. 110].

[Third case] ആരനോടു āraṇōḍu [Na! Ātt., p. 430 of Univ. Sel.]

6. A suffix vān, expressive of 'doubt' and 'surprise', occurring in instances like the following, from about the period of the campus, is ultimately related to -ān-um, the concessive ending implying 'doubt':—

ആശ്ചര്യം āruvān [BhBh, 2, p. 43]

എന്തുവാണ് enduvān [Naiṣ. camp.]

ചൊല്ലിക്കാമോവാണ് collidāmōvān [E! Kaivaly. p. 60]

ചിരിക്കയില്ലയോവാണ് cirikkayillayōvān [ib., p. 66]

എത്രവാണ് എത്ര നാളുകൾവാണ് eṭravān eṭra n'āḷaikkuvān [Girij., p. 40]

Kuṇjan and others of the 18th century also use it; but it does not exist in the colloquial to-day.

There is little doubt that vān [cf. Gundert's Gr., p. 39], was formed from -ān with the permanent incorporation of a back glide v which appeared originally in forms like uṇḍō-v-ān, cirikkayillayō-v-ān, etc. Semantically the idea of 'doubt' implied by this suffix may be compared to the similar idea of 'doubt' in -ān of āraṇ, isolated from ānum.

10. VERBAL NOUNS WITH FINAL -GA OR -KKA.

The active employment in Mal. of these verbal nouns with varied syntactic functions is a significant feature of Mal. morphology, which marks off the west coast speech from Tamil.

These Mal. verbal nouns correspond to Tamil forms like *ceygai*, *irukkai*, which are sometimes used as inflected nouns or as nominatives in Tamil syntactic constructions; but the uses to which these forms are put in Mal. are more extensive and numerous than in Tamil. In fact, they form indispensable linguistic units in Mal.

(i) They are used as subjects and objects of verbs:—

നിന്തിരവട്ടിയുടെ പ്രവൃത്തി രക്ഷിക്കയത്രേ *n'indiruvāḍiyude pravr̥tti rakṣikka-y-atrē* [BhBh, 1, p. 101].

സംഭ്രമമാക്കാനൊക്കും ചെയ്തതകൾ *sambhramamōḍ-oru kāryam ceyga tagā* [KR, Kišk., 80].

വരുത്തുകചെയ്യുന്നു *varuttuga ceyyun'n'u* [BhBh, 1, p. 21].

കാട്ടുകചെയ്യുന്നതു *kāṭṭuga ceyyun'n'adu* [Pr. Gr. Bh]

അരുളിച്ചെയ്യുവേണം *aruḷi-c-ceyga vēṇam* [ib.].

നടക്കയും വിഴ്കയും കേഴുകയുംചെയ്തു *naḍakkayum viḷugayum kēḷugayum ceydu* [KG]

ചെയ്ത ആകുന്നു *ceygayāḍgun'n'u*, ചെയ്ത ആയിരുന്നു *ceyga-y-āyirun'n'u*, ചെയ്ത ആയിരിക്കും *ceyga-y-āyirikkum*, ചെയ്തയുണ്ടു് *ceyga-y-unḍu*, ചെയ്തയില്ല *ceyga-y-illa* [used in Mal. with a slightly future force].

(ii) The instrumentals with *āḷ* and *koṇḍu* are very common (as in Tam.); the locative is represented in the literary speech in some contexts; the accusative appears in "comparisons" with *kāḷ*; the dative is very rare; and the genitive is absent.

Instr. തേരുകയാൽ *teruga-y-āḷ* [RC].

എങ്കയിനാൽ *eṅga-y-in-āḷ* [KR, Kišk.]

പോകുകൊണ്ടു് *pōga koṇḍu*

Loc. ഭഗവാനെ കാണുകയിൽ ഇപ്പയില്ല *kāṅga-y-il* [BhBh]; മോഹമില്ല ജീവിക്കുകയിൽ *jīvikayil* [E. Bh, p. 290]; ധരണിയിൽ വാഴുകയിൽ മരണം നല്ല *vāḷga-y-il*.

Acc. കേട്ടിടകേക്കാൾ *kēṭṭiḍugē-k-kāḷ* [Irup. Rām., 11, 42].

Det. Though L [2, 11, comm.] objects to forms like *kāṅgai-kku*, rare datives like the following occur in some texts: പേരിടകയ്ക്കു് തുടങ്ങിട്ടു് *pēriḍugaikkū* [Rām. camp., Vicch. gadya]; ഇവർമുഖക്കും ഇഷ്ടമില്ലം

യ്ക്കവേധിയില്ല iṣṭam-illāygaikkku [Cāṇakky., IV, l. 19], കൊള്ള കൊടുക്കയ്ക്കം koḍukkaikkum [KU, p. 39].

(iii) The peculiar construction of the following type (met with often in BhBh and not unrepresented in other texts) may be noted here; അവധിയില്ലാത്തതായല്ല, ബാലയാകയുമുണ്ടു, കല്യാണിയാകയുമുണ്ടു, കൃപണയാകയുമുണ്ടു bāla-y-āgayum unḍu, kalyāṇi-y-āgayum unḍu, kṛpaṇa-y-āgayum unḍu [BhBh, I, p. 5].

The following points may be noted in connection with these Mal. forms.

1. In structure, the Mal. forms with their final -a resemble the Tamil optatives [with -ga or -kka] and the Mal. representatives of these Tamil optatives. It is quite conceivable that originally they were identical.

2. These verbal nouns should be carefully distinguished in function from the old infinitive participles of the type colla-t-tuniṇṇē; for in old Mal. the verbal noun type is not employed to perform the duty of the infinitive participle, though usages exist like കാങ്കകാങ്കത്തളൻ kāṅga kāṅga-t-taḷaṇ'n'u [Kōḍiya-vi-aham, 103] and എല്ലാവരും കാങ്കപ്പിടിച്ചിഴച്ചതും ellāvarum kāṅga [E] Bh, p. 359; മത്തപ്പറിയുകൾ കാങ്കത്തന്നെ kāṅga-t- tanne [Tull, p. 83]; kāṅg- [KBhāg, p. 102].

3. It may also be noted here that while Mal. uses these verbal nouns for a sequence of actions connected together with the samuccaya -um, Tam. employs only the infinitive participles in such contexts: Mal. n'adakkayum vīḷugayum kṣāḷugayum ceydu; Tamil n'adakka-v-um vīḷa-v-um kṣāḷa-v-um ceydān.

The fact that the infinitive of the type of vīḷa, āḷa, ceyya has also the force of a verbal noun in constructions like the above and like the others dealt with in the chapter on Infinitives [cf. ceyya vēṇam and ceyga vēṇam in Mal.], leads me to query if these verbal nouns with-g-a and their structural relatives, the optatives with-g-a, may not have been variants of the infinitive, formed with the reinforcer -g-. [For the kārītas, the -kk- already exists in the base, so much so that sometimes this in itself was felt as insufficient and an additional-u-ga was optionally tacked on in Mal. (and rarely in Tamil optatives), as in irikkuga beside irikka].

11. IMPERATIVES AND PERMISSIVES.

1. As in Tamil, verb-roots are used as singular imperatives; but two chief Mal. peculiarities may be noted:—

(a) Literary Tamil does not allow the incorporation of the enunciative vowel *u* after bases with final *l*, *ḷ*, *n*, *ṇ*, *y*, *r*, *ḷ*; but in Mal. this is optionally permitted in literary texts (and of course in the colloquial also). Lil., III, 24, expressly points this out. Mal. singular imperatives like the following, therefore, freely appear in the texts:—*കൊല്ല* collu [gemination of *l* due to sandhi!] [KG], *നല്ല സമീപം* n'illu samīpe [Rām. camp.].

(b) Another peculiarity is that, while Tam. does not at all incorporate the *kārita* reinforcer in the singular imperatives of bases having these reinforcers, Mal. permits the embodying of *-kk-* in the singular imperatives, though in regional colloquials the *-kk-* may be omitted:—*ഇരിക്ക* irikku, *നടക്ക* n'aḍakku, etc., corresponding to Tam. *iru*, *n'aḍa*, etc. But *aviḍe-k-kidī*, *iri-y-eḍō*, *eṇi-y-eḍō* [< *eḷun'il-*], etc., are also heard in regional colloquials. So far as the texts are concerned, even Kunjan uses forms like *iri n'i* [Tuḷ.] without *-kk-*.

The reason for the frequent incorporation of *-kk-* in singular imperatives is, I think, the popularity enjoyed by the polite imperatives (derived from optatives) of the type of a *eḍukka* in Mal.

2. There is a second person pl. imperative form with *-v-in*, *-m-in*, *-pp-in*, in which *-v-*, *-m-* and *-pp-* correspond to similar particles in the future tense and in the future infinitive participle of the *-vān* type.

The corresponding Tamil type has *-min* for all bases.

I think that the Mal. type may not be directly connected with the Tam. form. It is possible that Tam. *-m-* in *-m-in* is a plural ending appearing in other contexts in Tamil [e. g. in *ōm*, *ām*, *am*, the personal endings of the first person pl. tense, and in *mār*, a plural ending of nouns], while Mal. appears to have formed this type with *-v-in* and its sandhi modifications *-m-in* [after final nasals of verb-bases, as in *kāṇ-m-in*] and *-pp-in* [after *kārita* bases, as in *uraippin* < *uraikk+(u)v-in*, which last-mentioned form, I may remark by the way, is also current in Mal., i. e., without the sandhi change of *kk+v=pp.*]

3. Instances like *kēḷāy* [RC, 68], *kāṇīr* [KR, Kišk., 195—Pl. Imp.], *koḍutt-iḍāye* [RC, 74], which are imperatives with second personal endings, are not Mal.; they appear to have been used in these Old Mal. texts in imitation of Tam. literary usage [cf. TC, 450]. *അറിയം ariyā* [KR, Kišk., 81] and *പാരം pāra* [ib., 141] are singular imperatives with final -y elided.

4. The polite imperative of Mal. with- u-ga embodied always in ordinary bases and optionally in bases having the *kārita* -kk, has to be derived historically from the Middle Tamil optative [for which latter, see my MOTV].

അറിക ന്നി *ari-ga n'ī* [RC, 110]

ചൊല്ലുക ന്നി *collu-ga n'ī* [RC, 64]

The final -ga sometimes appears also lengthened in Mal. as in *അറികം ariḡā* [E] Cint., p. 28], *ചൊൽക്കം colḡā* [Sabhā., l. 444], *kolḡā* [ib., l. 580], *അറികം ariḡā* [TAS, VII p. 153]; *വറികം varigā* and *വറുക്കം* [KU, p. 15 and p. 23].

The Old Tamil optative, according to TC, 226, and to general usage in the Śaṅgam texts, is allowed only after the third person. But in late Śaṅgam texts and in Middle Tamil [See my MOTV], the use of the optative was extended to other persons,—a usage which was definitely and expressly recognized by Nannūl in its sūtra 338.

This Middle Tamil practice is reflected in the oldest Mal. texts completely, in which the optatives are associated with all persons.

In the earlier texts,¹ the third personal optatives were of course common: *n'innuḍe uḍal ponnirāmāḡā* [KR, Utt., 193], *adu n'ilka, tiruvuḷḷam āvūḍāḡā* [RC, 14], *celvōnāḡā* [L, II, 25], *bhagavān nāṇṇale rakṣippūḍāḡā* [BhBh, 1, p. 100], *rāman jayippūḍāḡā* [E] Rām.], *pōgadellām* [E] Bh]. Gradually, however, the optative has become a mere second personal "polite" imperative in Mal.

¹ Instances like *അറിയവൊക്ക, വിടുവൊക്ക* [KR, Ar., 153], *കൈക്കൊടുവൊക്ക* [KR, Kišk., 117] represent a favourite type with the Panikkars. This is a Tamilism.

5. The future participials with final -adu, -idu, -ūdu (or udu) have an "imperative" value [cf. § 6 above]:—

രാമൻ ചിരംകളവതു^o kaḷavadu [RC, 65]; പോവിതു^o നാം ഇതുവഴി pōvidu [KR, Bā., 77]; കൊടുപ്പതു^o koḍuppūdu [RC, 76]; van'n'-āvūḍ-enikku [KBhāg., p. 74]; കുറിക്കൊടുവതു^o koḷvūdu [US 2, 97].

6. The -ū aorists are used with an imperative force in all numbers and persons in the old texts [cf. § 6]:—

കേൾപ്പൂ^o kēḷpū [US, 1, 36]; നാം പറഞ്ഞു കൊടുവൂ^o koḷvū [KG]; ചെൽവുതാവൂ celvūḍ-āvu [L, II, 25 cit.]; പിന്നെയും പിന്നെയും കേട്ടാവൂ^o kēṭṭāvū [BhBh, 1, p. 26].

7. A benedictive with -āga suffixed to future participials with ūdu, occurs in old texts:—

വെൽവുതാക velvūḍāga [US, 1, 38]; ജയിപ്പുതാക രാമൻ jayipūḍ-āga [E. Rām.].

രക്ഷിപ്പുതാക്കേണമേ rakṣippūḍ-āgēṇamē occurs in BhBh, 2, p. 19.

8. The ending -ṭṭē [< oṭṭē = oṭṭu 'allow' + emphatic ē] is used in Mal. as a "permissive" in the first and third persons:—

n'okkattē nān [KG, Ul., l. 279], irun'n'oṭṭē [BhBh, 1, p. 44 — 3rd person] < irun'n'u + koḷḷattē.

āgattē is syntactically important in constructions like യശോദയാകട്ടേ yaśodayāgattē 'as for yaśōda' [BhBh, 1, p. 33].

The Travancore regional colloquial പറഞ്ഞാട്ടേ paraññāṭṭē is a construction constituted of paraññu and kṛṇāṭṭē; cf. Kuñjan's എന്തെട വായിൽ പുക്കൊണ്ടാട്ടേ, നീയിനിമോഹം ഒഴിച്ചൊളാട്ടേ, വായിന്നേരേ കുതിച്ചൊളാട്ടേ pukkōṇḍāṭṭē, oḷicēccāṭṭē, kudicēccāṭṭē [Tull, p. 409].

9. The concessive with the ending -āḷ-um, standing by itself, does duty in Mal. for a kind of polite imperative for the second person. It is a contraction of constructions like നിങ്ങൾ പോയാലും നന്നു^o n'innāḷ pōyāḷ-um n'an'n'u 'it would be well if you were to go' implying a polite wish, from which n'an'n'u 'it would be well' has been dropped.

This type occurs in the earliest Mal. texts and has continued to be active down till to-day: നിങ്ങൾക്കൊന്നാലും n'innāḷ kon'-n'āḷum [RC, 402]; ceydāḷum [KG].

10. The combination of the old infinitive participle with *ām* [< āg-um] expresses in Mal. "permission" besides "ability":—*kulaikkam* [RC, 18].

This corresponds to Middle Tam. *ceyyal-ām* type. The Mal. type occurs in the earliest known period and has continued to exist down till to-day. RC and US have the type *ceyyām* beside the Tamilistic *ceyyalām*. The Paṇikkars, KG and later texts (excepting VR which consciously employs the Tamilistic *ceyyalām* type beside the Mal. *ceyyām*, just as it has used many other Tamilisms deliberately) use the *ceyyām* type exclusively.

Functionally, the type in Mal. has the following meanings:—
(i) *avan varām*, *avar varām*, *avan van'n'irikkām* in connection with the third person, imply 'possibility'.

(ii) *enikku pōgām*, *ayāḷkku varām*, *ṇāṇṇāḷkk-eḍukkām* signify either 'ability' of the person concerned or 'permission' accorded to him by another. The dative is associated here.

(iii) *ṇān varām*, *ṇāṇṇāḷ tarām*, where the first person is involved, would mean a 'promise' on the part of the speaker. This last-mentioned usage with the first person is unique in Mal., having been in existence from a very early period: *ṇānum..ceyyām* [KR, Ār., 159].

12. PARTICIPIAL NOUNS:

1. In Tamil two sets of participial nouns could be distinguished from the point of view of their structure:— the older variety which structurally is the same as the finite tense-forms without the augment-an; and the more modern variety, restricted to the third person and constituted of the relative participle and *aval*, *avan*, *avar*, *adu*.

Mal. generally has only third personal participials (belonging to both these types). In Tam. a participial noun like *kaṇḍēn* 'I who saw' could be "inflected" with "case"-endings, though it should be said that the construction is perhaps exclusively literary; Mal. does not possess such participial nouns in the first or the second persons. Again, while Tam. may use *kaṇḍān*, *kaṇḍāḷ*, *kaṇḍār* as participials, Mal. prefers either *kaṇḍōn*, etc., or *kaṇḍavan*, etc., Cf. ലാഘവം ബഹുവചനം [Bh Bh, 2, p. 8] and നിലം [ib., p. 9].

2 Old Mal. had future participial nouns like വാങ്ങുമവർ *vāṅṅumavar* [KBhr, p. 125], വേണ്ടുമവ *vēṇḍumava* [ib., p. 116], പറയുമല്ല *pat't'umadalla* [KR, Utt., 571], പോക്കുമല്ല *pōkkumadalla* [RC 13].

3. Participials are used with almost the force of finite tense-forms in Old Mal., particularly in the third personal present tense forms (for which the type ചെയ്യുന്നു *ceyyun'n'ān* with the personal ending *ān* is conspicuously absent in Mal.):—കാനനഭൂമിയിൽ നിന്നെൻ ഭർത്താ കാലവരം പ്രാപിക്കുന്നു *prāpik-kun'n'ōn* [KR, Ār., 172].

ശേഖരൻ ഇവിടെ വരുന്നു *varun'n'ōn* [KR, Utt., 251].

ആരിയരപ്പോർ *ār-īha bharippōr* [KBhr, p. 116].

രാജകുമാരൻ നിങ്ങളെ ബന്ധിപ്പോർ *bhandippōr* [BhBh, 2, p. 22].

ഭേദകൾ യുദ്ധത്തിന്നു വരികിൽ നിന്റെ ശരങ്ങളുറ്റു മണ്ടിപ്പോവോർ *maṇḍi-p-pōvōr* [BhBh, 1, p. 17].

4. The participials of the type of *iraṅṅūḍum*, *pōvūdu*, *eḍupūdu*, *ceyvūdu*, *ōḍūdu* occur in all Old Mal. texts, but they are most numerous in BhBh, KU, Brahm. Among New Mal. texts, this type is met with in Kucēl. *vaṅjip.* and occasionally in other texts. It has gone out of use to-day.

Its use in constructions like പോവുകയും ചെയ്യൂ *pōvūdu ceydu* for normal പോകയും ചെയ്യൂ *pōgayum ceydu* is quite common in BhBh, KU and Brahm.

13. APPELLATIVES.

One of the special features of Tamil is its appellatives in all persons, like *koḍiyai* 'thou art cruel', *n'āyinēn* 'I am like a dog.' Mal. has only the third personal appellatives, though older *aḍiyēn* [modern *aḍiyan*] and *Kaṇṇaṣṣān's ellīrum* may be regarded as appellatives of other "persons".

Some Mal. appellatives that have now gone out of use are the following:—*pon-n'irattā*, *anna-n'aḍayā*, *simhattān*, *n'āgattān*, *velattān*, *maṅkkaḍattān*, *eṇṇōn*, *eṇṇō*, *aṇṇēn* [modern pl. *aṇṇēr* or *aṇṇōr*], *eṇṇanattōn*, *dūrattān*, *cārattūdu*, *eḍiḍattūdu*; and (by analogy) *kānanamtannilōn* [KG, Khāṇḍ., 1. 242], *n'innuḍe pinnilōn* [KG Gōp., 1. 525].

Some older relative appellative participles [like common forms of the type of *valiya*, *ceṇiya*, etc., which are still current] are *aḷagiya* [KR, Ār., 137], *kārkaṇ'irattiya* [RC].

14. NEGATIVE FORMATIONS.

1. The *ao* rist negatives with personal endings exist in Old Mal. texts. They are numerous in the writings of the Paṇikkars; they are represented in certain types in KG, but in E₁ they have disappeared except for *vallēn* in the *cliche* *colla vallēn*.

oḷiyēn [RC, 46]	aṛiyōm [KR, Kišk., 248].
oḷiyāy [KR, Kišk., 109]	kaividār [KG Khāṇḍ, l.
miṇḍā [L, IV, 23]	222].
pōrādu [US, I, 55].	

It is quite probable that these were purely literary, inasmuch as from the time of the earliest texts, the third person "neuter" pl. negative tense with *ā* [cf. TC, 9 and 216] had been used in Mal. for all persons and numbers:—

കണ്ടുകിടയന്നി <i>muḍiyā n'i</i> [L, VIII, 6, cit].
ഞാൻ അമർച്ചയ്ക്കു <i>nān ceyyā</i> [KBhr, 48].
നി അറിയം <i>n'i aṛiyā</i> [RC, 79].
സീത എന്നിക്കു പൊരുനോ <i>sīta porun'n'ā</i> [KR, Ār., 49].
പിരാട്ടി താരോ <i>tārā</i> [US, 2 45].

This *ā* was more active in Old Mal. and in the earlier stages of New Mal.; it persists to-day only in പൊരോ *pōrā*, വയ്ക്ക *vayyā*, കൂട *kūḍā*, വേണ്ട *vēṇḍā*.

The employment of the form with *ā* for all persons and numbers is significant in that it was this obliteration of its original third person "neuter" plural function that perhaps led to its being considered as a negative verb-stem to which tense-affixes were attached, and to the unique Mal. forms (discussed below) being constituted.

2. From the earliest known literary period, there appears in Mal. a series of unique conjugated negatives in which the stem with the particle *-ā-* is followed by tense-endings or verbal suffixes. Among the finites, the past and the present are met with, while the future is less common; besides, participles, prohibitives and verbal nouns based on the same stem numerous occur. The chronological frequency of these forms is adverted to below, but I may state here that in

1. Bh Bh and PrGrBh show numerous present tense finites ; the latter has അറിയായുന്നീല [p. 261, a form in which illa reinforces the negative idea], ഉദിയായുന്ന [p. 337], അനമിക്കപ്പെടായുന്ന [p. 337], ഇളക്കത്തായുന്ന [p. 53], കൊടായുന്ന, ചൊല്ലായുന്ന, സേവിയായുന്ന, etc.

Past tense.

വരാഞ്ഞു varannu [KG, Kāliya., l. 87].
 നിന്നാൻ അന്യായപ്പെടാഞ്ഞു n'innal anyāya-p-pedannu [KU, p.
 കൊടാഞ്ഞാൻ കാളിയൻ kodannan kāliyan [Bh Bh, i, 71].

The past finite, the past participle, the relative participle, the conditional and the concessive,—all of which have the past stem of the type **ചെയ്യാൻ** *ceyyāññi*,—are heard even to-day.

2. il-, al- and arud-, when conjugated, always take on the endings of this type because the negative idea is inherent in these bases.

The future tense.

Though instances are rare, I have noted the following:—

വരായം *varāyum*, the future with -um in *Lil.* 7, 5, citation. [താരാനോ തരമോ തരിൽപ്പലനം വരായമോ? *tārānō tarumō varāyumō*].

ഇടർപരഞ്ഞാർ *iḍar pārāyvār* [*KR*, *Utt.*, 109],—a future with -v- and personal ending.

വാൽവിടയ്ക *vāl viḍāyvū* [*Bh Bh*, 1, p. 45], an instance of the “aoristic” type with *ū*; ആയം എടാലിവ *eḍālivu* [*Brahm.*]

The future relative participle *kāṇāyum-bō* in *Bh* 1, p. 110, and *വാടായം* in *Rājaratn.* [57], and the participial nouns *kōḍāyvad-innu* [*RC*, 42], and *നിവിരായ്വതിന്നു* *n’ivirāyvadinnu* [*Girij.*, p. 80] are connected forms.

Other verb forms.

1. Conjunctive past participles:—അറിവില്ലായ്മയ്ക്ക *aṟiv-illa-y-āṇṇu* [*RC*, 44], അല്ലായ്മയ്ക്ക *allayāṇṇittu* [*KG*, *Rugm.* 1. 815].

2. Relative present and past participles:—കാണായുന്ന *kāṇāy-un’n’a* [*Bh Bh*, 1, p. 119], വാടീടായുന്ന *vāḍiḍāy-un’n’a* [*Rām. camp.*, *Ravanōdbh.*, 1], പാപ്പെടാഞ്ഞ *paṟappedāṇṇa* [*Kucēl. vanji.*, 1. 284], കാണാഞ്ഞൊൻ *kāṇāṇṇa ṇān* [*ib.*, 1. 287].

3. Infinitive participle of “purpose”:—

ബാധ വരായ്വാൻ *bādha varāyvān* [*KR*, *Bāl.*, 64]

തട്ടായ്വാൻ *tattāyvān* [*E*, *Bh*]

തോലായ്വാൻ *tōlāyvān* [*KR*, *Bāl.*, 253]

വിശായ്വാൻ *viḷāyvān* [*ib.*, 116]

This has disappeared to-day, though even 16th and 17th century writers were using it.

The type represented by *varāḍ-irippān* [normally related to the Tam. negative infinitive participle] has now displaced *varāyvān*.

4. A polite imperative with -āy-ga occurs in the texts:—

നീ മറിയായ്ക *n’i mariyāyga* [*KR*, *Ār.*, 5].

അറിവുകയോർ കൊടായ്ക *aṟiv-uḍayōr koḍāyga* [*KR*, *Kišk.* 122-3rd person!].

5. A second person plural imperative with -vin was very common down till the 16th and 17th centuries.

തളരെയ്യിൽ *taḷarāyvin* [KR, *Ār.*]

നീലയ്യിൽ *n'illāyvin* [KG, *Rugm.*, l. 1,002]

ഭയപ്പെടയ്യിൽ *bhayappedāyvin* [E₁ Bh]

കൊടയ്യിൽ *koḍāyvin* [E₁ Bh, p. 341]

ഉഴയ്യിൽ *uḷāyvin*, ചൊല്ലയ്യിൽ *collāyvin* [Bhāg, p. 105]

മിണ്ടയ്യിൽ *miṇḍāyvin* [17th century *Paḍappāṭṭu*, p. 21]

6. Conditionals with *-āygil*, *-āyga-y-āḷ*:—കൊടാകിൽ *koḍāgil* in a tenth century inscription [TAS, III, p. 176]

കാണത്തായ്യിൽ *kāṇ-arudāyga-yāḷ* [KG]

അല്ലയായ്യിൽ *allayāygil* [RC, 146]

[This alternates with അല്ലാഴികിൽ *allāḷigil* or അല്ലയാഴികിൽ *allayāḷigil*; for the change of *-y-* to *ḷ*, cf. the colloquial corruption *aḷaikk-* for *ayakk-* 'to send'].

ഇവണ്ണം ഇരുകിൽ [TAS, III, p. 32 — 12th c.]

കൊടയ്യിൽ *koḍāygil* [RC, 82]

ചെയ്യിലായ്യിൽ *ceyḍilāygil* and പറഞ്ഞിലായ്യിൽ *paraṇṇilāygil* [KU, p. 33]

ഇല്ലെയ്യിൽ *illaiyāygil* [CAR, VII, p. 10]

The type of പറയാഞ്ഞാൽ *para-yāṇṇāḷ* is common today; but forms like *para-yāygil* are not heard.

7. Verbal nouns with *-āyga*:—

മരിയായ്യിൽ *mariyāyga koṇḍu* [KR, *Ār.*, 7]

പിഴ ചെയ്യിൽ *piḷa ceyyāyga vṇḍum* [RC, 322]

മുനിയായ്യിൽ *muniyāyga* [KR, *Kišk.*, 159].

ഇല്ലാഴിക *illāḷiga koṇḍu* [Kuc. *Vaṇjip.*, l. 218]

This type is common even today in expressions like അരിയായ്യിൽ *ariyāyga koṇḍallā ṇṇan vaṇḍiyil kayariyadu*.

8. KR, Sund. has forms like കാണായ്വണ്ണം *kāṇāyvaṇṇam* [78], വായ്വണ്ണം *vaḷāyvaṇṇam* [249] beside normal negative rel. participles like *kāṇā*, *vāḷā*, etc. as in Tamil. The presence of the *-y-* in the Mal. forms is significant in as much as it is this *-y-* that has led to the palatalised past stem type of *varaṇṇ-* in Mal.

It would be interesting to inquire how these unique Mal. negatives were formed. Tamil has the aorist negative type in which, as Caldwell has already pointed out [Comp. Gr., p. 474],

the negative idea is associated with the particle *ā* which appears also in the relative participle of the type *ceyyā*. In Tamil, no special forms showing tense-affixes exist; nor does any Dravidian language for that matter evidence such negative tense-forms as those of Mal.

In the first place, it is clear that the Mal. forms are founded upon a negative stem with *ā*; for, this -*ā* is conspicuous in all of them. Secondly, a new *y* has cropped up in all the forms of this type in Mal.; in the past stem, its original existence is attested by the palatalised *ññ* [< *y*+*nd*]. Whence is the *y* here? I am inclined to think that it may have originated as a glide in present tense forms like *kāṇā+y+in'n'* in which the front glide is quite characteristically Mal., as the analogy of *vāḍā-y-idu* വാടോയിതു in the commentary on Līl, III, 1, comm. distinctly shows. The-*y*- thus associated with the type was perhaps permanently embodied in all forms. Even the relative participle, inherited from the parent language, of the type of *ceyyā* appears sometimes to have embodied this *y* in Mal: cf. *കാണായ്വണ്ണം* *kāṇāyvaṇṇam* and *വാഴായ്വണ്ണം* *vāḷāyvaṇṇam* of KR, Sund., already cited.

The Mal. negative forms of this category are thus derivative in origin. Further, it may also be noted that forms like *കാണായിൻ* *kāṇāyin'n'u*, *വാഴായിൻ* *vāḷāyind'u* with the present tense affix *in'n'* [having *i*] also point to the fact that these forms had their origin after Mal. developed its present tense affix from Middle Tam. -*gind'* but before -*un'n'* [with -*u*-] was developed or popularised.

Distribution in the texts.

This category is met with in Old Mal. texts, though all forms are not equally numerous. The following types: *ചെയ്യാ* *ceyyāyga*, used as the verbal noun and the polite imperative, *ചെയ്യാവൻ* *ceyyāyvin* [plural prohibitive], *ചെയ്യാവൻ* *ceyyāyvaṇ* [future participle with -*vān*] are quite common in the works of the Paṇikkars, in RC, KG and in E].

The future tense finites with *um* or *ū* as in *ചെയ്യാം* *ceyyāyum* or *ചെയ്യാം* *ceyyāyū* are rare, but not unrepresented in Old Mal.

In the campus and in the prose work Bh Bh, present tense and future tense stems are very frequent, besides the other types.

In KG, the future finite is non-existent; the present exists though not numerously; the others are common.

In ^oE₁, the present tense form appears rarely [ceyyāyun'n'u in Bh, kūḍāyun'n'u in Bhāg.], and the future stem is represented only in participial neuter nouns; but all other types are frequently represented.

It may be observed that the negative types, inherited directly from the parental language, ചെയ്യാതിരിക്കുന്നു ceyyā-dirikkun'n'u, ചെയ്യാതിരുന്ന ceyyādirun'n'u, ചെയ്യാതിരിക്കും ceyyā-dirikkum and ceyyāda, etc. already existed side by side with the special Mal. developments ceyyāyun'n'u, etc. Such forms, directly inherited from the parent speech, appear to have gradually displaced, after the period of E₁, the types ceyyāyun'n'u, ceyyāyum, ceyyāyvū, ceyyāyvīn, ceyyāyvān and the polite imperative ceyyāyga.

The only types that exist in the modern colloquials are ചെയ്യാ ceyyāyga as a verbal noun, the past finite ചെയ്ത ceyyāññu used regionally, the participle ചെയ്താ ceyyāññī-, the conditional ചെയ്താൽ ceyyāññāl, and (in regional colloquials) the relative participle ചെയ്ത ceyyāññīa.

These present-day types alone are frequently met with in New Mal. after the transitional stage of E₁. Occasionally, however, the following are also represented in the 17th and the 18th century texts:—

പോകായ് pōgāyga as a proh. [VR, p. 186]; കരുതിടായ് karu-dīdāyga [ib., p. 54]; കോപിയായ് kōpiyāyga [Kōṭṭ. Āṭṭ., p. 74]; khēdiyāyga [Nal. Āṭṭ.].

വന്നിടായ് van'n'idāyvadinnu [Kōṭṭ. Āṭṭ., p. 69].

അയ്യായ് aruḷāyvan [Kōṭṭarakk. Āṭṭ., p. 113]

ഇല്ലായ് illāyvan [Kōṭṭ. Āṭṭ.]

തടവുകൾ തെല്ലം വരായ് varāyvan [Tull, p. 477];

കാശ്ചേരായ് കാശ്ചേരായ് illāyvan [Viṣṇ., p. 76]

These, however, are not common in New Mal.

Negative verb-forms normally descended from the parent language.

1. Conjunctive participles of the ceyyādu type abound in RC, KR, KBh, etc.

While ceyyādu represents the Tam. type, ചെയ്യാത്തു ceyyāññ- [see supra] is a Mal. development [cf. *ceyyāyndu], in which the y (met with also in ചെയ്യായിന്നു, etc.) has "palatalised" the past affix.

The ചെയ്യാത്തു type appears as ചെയ്യാതെ ceyyādē even in Old Mal., as in KR.

While ceyyādē expresses merely the idea of the negative, the participle ceyyāññu has the additional connotation of "cause" in Mal.; further, the conditional with -ā is directly formed only with ചെയ്യാത്തു as in ചെയ്യാത്താൽ ceyyāññāl.

The rel. participle ceyyāda has now changed to ceyyāta; the change perhaps occurred very early; for, a 13th c. inscription [TAS, III] has ചെയ്യാത്തതിന്നു cellāttadinnu.

The relative participles of the type of ceyyād-irikkun'n'a, ceyyād-irun'n'a, the imperatives ceyyād-irikku, ceyyād-irippin, the conditionals ceyyād-irikkil and ceyyād-irunñāl, the infinitive participle ceyyad-irippān, the verbal noun ceyyād-irikkuga are all based upon the combination of ceyyādu, the aoristic conjunctive participle and different forms of ir-'to be'; these are most common today.

In this connection, I may refer to the modern colloquial type ചെയ്യാണ്ടു ceyyāṇḍu which goes back in origin to ചെയ്യാതെകൊണ്ടു ceyyādē koṇḍu, where koṇḍu makes the "action" enure to the subject, as in ceydu koṇḍu. Gundert [Gr., p. 292] postulates kaṇḍu കണ്ടു instead of കൊണ്ടു koṇḍu, though he also cites അറിയാതെകൊണ്ടിരുന്നു on p. 306 of his Gr. I think that കൊണ്ടു koṇḍu is the correct form, and this has been replaced in many Mss. and printed texts by കണ്ടു in this context on account of "confusion". The participle koṇḍu of kol-is used in many Dr. languages with this force of making the action enure to the subject in affirmative constructions; Tam. and Mal. have only extended this usage to the negatives. This is clearly proved by the following instances: നിന്നുടേ ഹാനി വരതേ കൊള്ളാം varāde kollām [CBh, p. 309]; എൻ വായിലുള്ള കുന്നകിടാക്കളുകൊല്ലാതെകൊണ്ടാകിൽ kollādē koṇḍ-aḡil [KG, Vals., l. 246]; കൂമ്പാതെകൊള്ളുവാൻ kumbāde koḷḷuvān [ib., Rugnan., l. 122]; താരതെകൊള്ളുവാൻ ഇപ്പയ്യണ്ടു tārāde koḷḷuvān [ib., Syamant., l. 232]; കൊല്ലതേ കൊള്ളാത്തതു എന്നേ നി kollāde koḷḷāññad-endē n'i [E]. Bh, p. 379].

Middle Tam. used such forms commonly: cf., e. g., നടുങ്കാതേ കൊൾ n'aḍuṅgāḍē koḷ in Naccinārkinīyar's commentary on Kalittogai, I, 17, 2.

2. The common Mal. negative finites inherited from the parent language are the following:—

ചെയ്യുന്നില്ല ceyyunnilla—cf. Middle Tam. ceygind'ilēn etc.

ചെയ്യില്ല ceydilla— „ ceydilan, etc.

Old ചെയ്യില്ല ceyvilla [KR, Sund., 95] } „ ceygilen, etc.
New ചെയ്യില്ല ceyvilla }

Both n'adakkilla [KR, Ār.] and n'aḍappilla [E. Bh] exist in Mal.

From the earliest extant texts downwards, these negatives have remained without personal endings in Mal:— അറിഞ്ഞില്ല aṟiññilla [US, I, 28], അറിവ് വന്നില്ല aṟivu vanñilla [RC, 35]; പത്രം വെച്ചില്ല putṛar bhaviccilla [KR, Bāl., 13]; വരുവില്ല തളച്ചുവം varuvilla taḷaṛccayum [RC, 721].

3. ചെയ്യില്ല ceyga-y-illa, based as it is on ചെയ്ത ceyga [verbal noun type, so popular in Mal.] is unique. KR [Bāl., 5] and US [I, 133] and RC [709] already have representatives of this type which is also so very common today to express the negative tense-idea.

4. The following “prohibitives” are special Mal. formations with negative significations, constituted of the old affirmative infinitive participle of the verb-base and negative forms:—

(i) ചെയ്യാല്ല cey-y-ollā [ceyya+olla—Note elision of the final -a of the inf. participle]

ollā is the aoristic negative form of ol. This occurs in the earliest texts like US, RC, KR, etc.

It has assumed even the form ചെയ്യാല്ല cey-g-ollā in some Mss. of KR [cf. Kišk., 101].

കൊള്ളാതെ ōṟk-ollāḍē [KG, Kams., l. 590] ആകൊല്ലാതെ [KG, Rugm., l. 298], കൊല്ലൊല്ലാതെ kollollāḍē [Bh Bh, I, p. 15],

1 The old commentator of V regards [comm. on Sutra 11 of V, Dhātup] നടക്കിലേൻ etc. as a present tense-negative type; but the instances in Middle Tam. texts show the future meaning, generally speaking; and this perhaps is more in fitting with the future-denoting force of -g, as in എൻകേ etc.

തൃജിക്കൊല്ലംതെ tyajikkollāde [ib., p. 108] are peculiar formations, with ollāde on the analogy of n'illāde, ceyyāde.

(ii) ചെയ്യല്ലെ ceyyallē, a very common prohibitive in the colloquial today, is a type represented only in texts after the period of E]. The older texts including E] use generally the type ചെയ്യൊല്ലം ceyyollā; but എത്തില്ലെ ettīdallē is a rare instance met with in Rām. camp., Sitāpari., gadya. കൊതിക്കല്ലെ kodikkallē, തൃജിക്കല്ലെ tyajikkallē occur in Kunjan's Tull. Such forms occur in other texts of this and the following periods. Perhaps, this type is a derivative from the type ചെയ്യൊല്ലം ceyyollā; for, I find forms like വയ്ക്കൊല്ലെ vaikkollē in the 17th century Paḍappāṭṭu [p. 11] and in Bṛhaspativākyaṃ. These perhaps stand for the transitional stage through which ceyyollā changed to ceyyallē.

(iii) ചെയ്യുവേണ്ടാ ceyya vēṇḍā, contracted to ചെയ്യേണ്ടാ ceyyēṇḍā, is quite common.

Forms like വൈകാതവേണ്ടം vaigāda vēṇḍum [C S, 1, 109], പിഴചെയ്യായ്ക്കവേണ്ടം piḷa ceyyyāga vēṇḍum [RC, 322] and ഒക്കണ്ടാതെ oṟkkandāde [KG. Gōvardh., l. 270] went out of use even in the Old Mal. period.

(iv) ചെയ്യരുതു ceyyarudu acquired its meaning of 'prohibition' from an early period in Mal. [See, ch. IV § 1, 2 (b).]. It is an indispensable 'prohibitive' in modern Mal. colloquial.

(v) A number of other collocations originally denoting 'inability' or 'impossibility' have come to acquire the signification of 'prohibition' in present-day Mal. in which both meanings occur according to the context.

ചെയ്യുകുടം ceydu kūḍā [corresponding to Tam. ceyya-k-kūḍādu; for the Mal. use of ceydu instead of ceyya, see §7] is used in the old texts only with the meaning of 'inability', 'incapacity' or 'impossibility', as in വചിച്ചുകുടം vaciccu kūḍā [KG, Pūt., l. 93], കണ്ടുകുടം kaṇḍu kūḍā [Kaly., 27], വാഴ്ത്തിക്കുടം vāḷttik-kūḍā [Rām. camp.], ചൊല്ലിക്കുടം colli-k-kūḍā [E] Bh]. This collocation, however, besides being employed in the older sense, has come to be used sometimes as a prohibitive also: വരുത്തിക്കുടം എന്നു കല്പിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു varutti-k-kūḍā [KU, p. 31].

Another similar construction which originally had the signification of 'incapacity', 'inability' or 'impossibility' but

which in some contexts today means 'prohibition' (though in others it also has the older meaning) is constituted of the infinitive participle and the aorist negative *vayyā* [<vahi-y-ā, the base being an adaptation from Skt. vah- in a "generalised" sense.] The "generalised" meaning appears in old instances like the following:—

നടക്കുവഹിയാഞ്ഞു വയോധികന്മാരും *n'adukka vahiyānnu* [VR, p. 79]; എണ്ടിതയിലും വഹിയാഞ്ഞു *eṇḍiṣayilum vahiyānnu* [Tull, p. 627]; വയ്യാതുളളൊരു ഭാഷകൊഴും *vayyāduḷḷoru* [Tull, p. 372].

ചെയ്യാൻമേലം *ceyyān mēla* is a type occurring today in Travancore colloquials with the signification of 'inability' and sometimes also that of 'prohibition'. I have not been able to find instances in the texts before the 17th century:— അങ്ങു വരാൻ മേലം *varān mēla* [VR, p. 260] 'inability'; അനങ്ങാൻ മേലാത്തു *anaṇṇān mēlānnu* [Tull, p. 238]; അനക്കാൻമേലാതേ *anakkān mēlāde* [ib., p. 242]; നടപ്പാനും മേലാത്ത *n'adappānum mēlatta* [Sabhapr., l. 709].

I consider that this type perhaps owes its origin to juxtapositions like *varuvānum-ēla*, which collocations popular etymology may have converted to *varuvān mēla*, whereby *mēla* was isolated.

ēla, the aoristic negative of ēl-, appears in old texts frequently:—എലം *ēla* [KR, Sund., 194]; പലക്കും എലം ഇതു *palaṅk-kum ēla idu* [E. Bh.]; അവൻ നന്നും എലായ്ക്കൊണ്ടു *avan on'n'um ēlayga-konḍu* [Bhāg. p. 79].

(vi) The Tamil singular prohibitive type *ceyyāḍē* 'do not thou do' appears to have been used by Old Mal. authors. Perhaps it was not universal in Malabar, as it has died out today except in south-eastern taluks of Travancore, where the influence of Tamil is still very strong:—

collāde [E. Bh.]; *ākkollāḍē* [KG, Rugm, l. 298], *tyajikkollāḍē* [BhBh].

5. The following types of negatives are no longer current today:—

- (i) മുറിച്ചതാമല്ല *muṛippadāmalla* [RC, 757]
- സാധിക്കാമല്ല *sādhikkām-alla* [Kaly, 51]
- പുകഴ്ത്താമല്ല *pugaḷttāmalla* [Rām camp.]
- അടക്കാമല്ല *aḍakkāmalla* [ib.]
- ആക്രമിക്കാമല്ല *ākramikkāmalla* [E. Bh, p. 359]

(ii) Participial nouns with -alla:—

ഞാൻ പുകഞ്ഞുണ്ടല്ല *nān pūgun'n'on-alla* [KG, Rugm, 1066]

ചിത്തുന്നോളല്ല *cīndun'n'olalla*, ചെല്ലത്തല്ല *cellun'n'ud-alla* [KG].

കുടുന്നോളല്ല *kūḍun'n'on-alla* [E] Cint., p. 22]

ചെയ്യുന്നോളല്ല *ceyyun'n'onalla* [ib.]

(iii) കാണത്തുവല്ല *kāṇun'n'v-alla* [BhBh, 1, p. 102]

ചെയ്യുന്നവല്ലെങ്കിൽ *ceyyun'n'u-v-alleṅgil* [BhBh.]

(iv) അറിയാമൽ *ariyāmal* [KR, Kišk, 151] അല്ലാൽ *allāl* [KR, KBhr, BhG], ചെയ്യുവിട്ടിൽ *ceyyā-viḍil* are Tamilisms used by Kaṇṇaśśan.

6. The negative relative participle with -ā, already occurring in Tamil, is met with in compounds:—

ആകുലമിലാതുപതി *ākulam-ilā nṛpātī* [K Bhr, p. 107], എല്ലയിലാതുണം *ellayilā guṇam* [KR, Utt.], ചാകാച്ചാവ *cāgā-c-cāvu* [Rām-camp., Sitāpai, 64]; today, this form occurs only in proverbs and in a few compounds: —മിണ്ടാപ്പുച്ഛ *miṇḍā-p-pūcca* [MP, No. 665]; ഇഷ്ടമല്ലാപ്പെണ്ണ *iṣṭamallāppenṇu* [MP, No. 151]; നോടാപ്പൊൻ *nēḍāppon* [MP, No. 478]; ആടാച്ചാക്കുൾ *āḍāccākkyār* [MP, No. 84]; ഉപ്പില്ലാപ്പഥ്യം *uppillāppathyam*; കമ്പിയില്ലാക്കമ്പി *kambiyillāk-kambi*.

7. Among negative participial nouns, I must single out here for special mention the type *varattu* [< *varattadu*] which, though absent as such in Old Mal., appears in early New Mal. from about the period of VR :—പേടിയാത്തു *pēḍiyāttu* [VR, p. 204]; എന്തുദുഃഖമില്ലാത്തു *duhkamillāttu* [Girij., p. 57]; എന്തുപോരത്തു *pōrāttu* [ib., p. 73]; എന്തിനകൃപയില്ലാത്തു *kṛpayillāttu* [Tull.]

CHAPTER V. MISCELLANEOUS MAL: FORMATIONS

1. അളം ṭḷam.

This form is used in Mal. for denoting 'limit' after the future relative participles and other words. Its history is traceable in Mal. itself.

The early Middle Tam. *aḷavu* denoting 'limit,' as in *ucci aḷavu* [Tēvāram], etc. was employed as *aḷav-um* (with the *samuccaya -um*) very commonly in the inscriptions, in RC and in the works of the Paṇikkars to denote 'limit':- *അവനതു പണ്ണമളവനളം paṇṇumaḷavu* [TAS, II, p. 194—10th c.]; *പുരം തുടങ്ങി അണത്തളവം ṭṇatt-aḷavum* [TAS, II, p. 47—10th c.]; *വരുമളവം varum-aḷavum* [KR, Bāl., 123]; *ആമളവം ām-aḷavum*; *ഇൻറളവം ind'-aḷavum* [KBhr, p. 144]; *പുമളവം pūm-aḷavum* [RC, 224]; *നിതിചരപരിയളവം n'iṣicarapuri-y-aḷavum* [RC 97].

The exact origin of *aḷavum* was lost sight of; forms with *-aḷam* were perhaps formed on the basis of the feeling that *-vum* (of *aḷavum*) stood for *-m-um*—as in *maravum* from *maram-um*. These forms with *-aḷam* also exist in RC and in the works of the Paṇikkars:— *വേണ്ടമളം vēṇḍum-aḷam* [KR, Sund.]; *ആമളം āmaḷam* [RC, 86 - < *āgum-aḷam*]; *അന്നളം annaḷam* [KR, Utt.]; *കുറുതരമളം kūṛarudādaḷam* [ib., 258].

The *-m-* of the constructions with the future rel. participles appears also reduced to the bilabial fricative in other instances in the same texts:— *ആവളവം āvaḷavum* [KR, Ār., 109]; and the *-va-* so formed appears to have been modified as *vō* (cf. *avan* > colloq. *ṭṇ*):- *തളവോളവം taḷaruvōḷavum* [RC, 307], *ആവോളവം āvōḷavum* [KG, Rugm., l. 114]. KR, Ār. has also *ആമോളം* *അറ* *അര* *āmoḷam*.

The form, thus isolated as *ṭḷam*, was used later analogically in connection with other words and forms, as in *ഇന്നയോളം inṇa-y-ṭḷam*, *കേട്ടോളം kēṭṭṭṭam* [the type of the past rel. participle followed by *ṭḷam* does not exist before KG], *വിട്ടിൻ-ṭḷam*, *ആത്-ṭḷam*, *ഇൻ'നാല-യ-ṭḷam* etc. VR., p. 352, has even *എന്നടെ ചീവൻതമിക്കവോളത്തിന്നം gamikkuvōḷatti-num*, where the augment-*att-* and the directive fourth case ending *-in* have been embodied.

2. എന്നിയേ En'n'iyē

From about the time of BhBh and the campus, Mal. has the forms എന്നിയേ en'niyē, എന്യെ enye signifying 'without'. In the older texts this appears as ind'i or in'ni which corresponds to the Tam. conj. participle of il- when il is regarded as a verb base. Since KR and other early texts have in'ni or ind'i¹ [ദിനതജ്ജനി dīnata in'ni, KR, Ār., 55], the form en'n'iyē [BhBh, I, p. 97] and en'yē are developments of original in'n'i-y-ē with a dissimilative change of initial i to e.

3. മതി MADI

Mal. uses madi to express the idea of 'enough'. mati in Skt. means 'mind', 'understanding, etc.; and as a loan in Mal. [and in Tam.] it has the meanings 'estimate, extent', as in vila madi-kk- 'to estimate the price', irakku-madi, etc.

The process whereby the term came to mean 'enough' in Mal. is made clear by the use in the old texts of madi varum [cf. Ēkādesimāhā., I, 2, 4] and madi pōrum 'enough' < 'estimated desire will reach fulfilment' [KR, Ār., 55]. Even E₁ uses it in Bh. in കണ്ണാ മതിപോരും നിന്നടെ വീഴ്ത്തും madi pōrum n'innuḍe vīryāññaḷ. cf. also madi āgum. āgum, varum and pōrum [which last form does duty for 'enough' in Tam. colloquial (Middle Tam. pōd- and pōr 'to go, reach' 'to be sufficient', derived from Old Tam. pō-tar- 'to go, reach, etc.') and is occasionally employed in Mal. texts also (cf. Rām. camp., Udyān., 55)] were dropped, and madi alone has come to mean 'enough' in Mal. Pūḍānam has madi pōrāññ- in Santānagō. [Pāṭṭ., p. 126]; but since madi by itself occurs with the meaning of 'enough' in the earliest Old Mal. texts, the occasional use of madi pōrum by E₁ and of madi pōrāññ- by Pūḍānam is certainly "archaic". മതിയുണ്ടു madi-y-uṇḍu also exists in Old Mal. [Rām. camp., Tāḍ., 30].

4. ETŔA, ATŔA, ITŔA

എത്ര etŕa (how much), ഇത്ര itŕa (this much), അത്ര atŕa are Mal. forms that have been current in the west coast from the period of the earliest texts. Both Gundert and KP explain them as being constituted of the demonstratives [and the interrogative

¹ A form and'i appears in some of the editions of the works of the Paṇikkars; this corresponds to Tam. അൻറി, the conj. past participle of al (when al is treated as a verb here).

e] and tira. This word tira, so far as I can see, occurs nowhere in the texts with the meaning 'quantity or measure'; nor do the meanings of Tam. tirai justify the postulate that tira is at the back of atra, itra 1.

The fact that the Nirāṇam Paṇikkars [who, be it noted here, did use Tamilisms] use only അത്തന attana, ഇത്തന ittana, എത്തന ettana in their writings for atra, itra, etra might be noted here. Cf. also എത്തിനയം ettinayam in a citation from an Old Mal. poem in L, 4, 2, comm., and എത്തനക്കാലമുണ്ടു ettana-k-kālam-unḍu in an extract in L, 4, 22, comm..

5. ഒരിക്കൽ ORIKKAL

Mal. orikkal is normally descended from the stage represented by Middle Tam. oru-k-kāl.

The older forms in Mal. are the following ഒരുകാലം orukkal [TAS, VII, p. 113—early 13th c.]; orikkāl used in RC, 13; in KBhāg., p. 256; in US [2, 94]; in Līl. [cit.] 4, 2 and 4, 15; in Rām. camp., Udy., 59. അക്കാലം

The change of u to i is supported by instances like Mal. irikk- [Tam. iru-kk-], pōriga [Tam. pōr-u-ga], orikkōl [Tam. oru-k-kōl 'one "kōl" or measure], etc.

For the shortening of the vowel in kāl, cf. the locative postposition kal of Mal., normally going back to kāl.

6. THE CONDITIONAL TENSE FORMED OF THE PAST STEM AND

തെന്തേ, തെന്തായിരുന്നു

This conditional tense, a unique formation in Mal, is very common in the colloquials today. In the Cochin State (and in Malabar), it appears in instances like the following:—

ഞാൻ എടുത്തേനെ ഞ്ഞു എടുത്തേനെ 'I would have (or might have) taken' (if something had happened); എടുത്തേനായിരുന്നു എടുത്തേനായിരുന്നു 'he might have taken'.

In certain regional colloquials of Travancore [cf. Mathen's Mal. Grammar, pp. 164 and 165], the affix appears as -ēnam, as in എടുത്തേനം എടുത്തേനം.

1 ഇത്തിരി ittiri 'very small quantity' of modern Mal. [occurring in the texts from about El's time, as in El Bh, p. 374] may have been a derivative of ഇത്ര.

I have found the following illustrations in the texts:—

അച്യുതൻ ദാനംചെയ്യേനേ acyutan dānam ceydēnē [Bh Bh, 2, p. 125.]

കൊണ്ടെന്ന് ഹന്ത തന്നേനേ konḍan'n'u tan'n'ēnē [Irupatt. Rām., 9, 27]

കുറവു ഭവിച്ചേനേ bhaviccēnē [Tul], p. 92]

പോരായ്ക്കൊരു പേരായേനേ pērayēnē [Tul], p. 418]

എന്റ ദാരിദ്ര്യം തീർത്തയച്ചേനേ ayaccēnē [Kucel, Vanji., 1 559]

I have not been able to find instances of this tense-type in US, RC, KR, KBhr or in E].

Gundert [Gr., p. 283] suggests that the old infinitive participle ena of en- 'to say' may have yielded the affix in question. Gundert does not notice the Travancore colloquial -ēnam at all in his grammar.

With the materials available, it is difficult to say how far Gundert's suggestion of the origin of the affix approaches the truth. *A priori* one may conceivably postulate a connection between the affix and a form of en- used in a generalised sense; but the exact connection or the character of the ancestral verb-form cannot be determined with the materials now available.

The question becomes somewhat complicated by the existence of a peculiar form expressing the conditional tense-idea in KG:—നന്നുകൂടാതെ പോയാകിൽ വന്നാൻ n'anmaṇi kūḍāde pōyā-gil van'n'ānum 'he would (certainly) have come, if he had not gone with the bright jewel' [KG, Syamant., 1. 69] If this van'-n'ānum is related to the conditional forms with ēnam or ēnē—which is a conceivable possibility [cf. the concessive affix -ānum and its variant -ēnum- as in എങ്ങാനും eṇṇānum and എങ്ങേനും], —then Gundert's suggestion regarding the affix ēnē may have to be rejected. But KG offers only one instance² of the type of van'n'ānum with the conditional meaning, and I have been unable to locate any similar instance in any other Old Mal. text.

1. Viewed purely from the standpoint of phonetics, -ആനും and -എനും may originate in other ways also: cf. colloquial ഇല്ലാനും or ഇല്ലേനും from ഇല്ലതാനും.

2 KG uses other constructions to bring out the conditional idea:—യാചിച്ചു നിന്നാകിൽ തന്നതുംതാൻ [Kucel, 1. 342], കാർമ്മുകിൽവണ്ണനെ കാണുന്നതാകിൽ എങ്കാളും എല്ലാമേ സംധിച്ചതും [Saubhadra, 1. 114]

7, THE PARTICLES e, ē, ō AND ā

e and ē

In writing, very often the long and the short sounds are mixed up ; but it is quite possible to differentiate the short e from the long one, with reference to the origin of each. The reason for the mixing-up of the long and the short sounds in Mss. is that very often the original short e was itself lengthened as the result of stress.

Short e

(a) The accusative e of Mal. is a short suffix, derived as it is from older -ai (or a palatal a, as some maintain). The shortness of this e is expressly pointed by Lil., 2, 11 commentary: *dwitiyo yathā*:—"ānaye", "marattine"; *atra ekaro hraswah*.

Similarly, the e of the Mal. genitive singular *uḍe* and *nd'e* should be singular in view of their origin. The source of these affixes is Middle Tam. *uḍaiya* which appears as *uḍai* also.

കുറു *kuṛe* from *kuṛaya* [the latter occurs as such in *Girij.* and other works], colloquial പാല *paḷe* from *paḷaya*, having short e, may be compared.

The accusative e, the final sound of the genitive *uḍe* and *nd'e* (as also the final short e of *kuṛe*) may, when stressed, appear lengthened; but, in origin, the e here is short.

(b) The old infinitive participles like *ēre*, *vaḷare*, *aḍukke*, *pōle*, *kūḍe*, etc. which are used in Mal. with the force of different parts of speech [See Ch. IV, §7], have a final short e only. The final sound of these forms is derived from a short a which is the value given to it in Tamil [=colloquial Tam. ə]. This is proved by the fact that in the older works and in old Mss., the forms appear as *ēra*, *vaḷara*, *pōla*, etc.

This e may also appear lengthened under the influence of of semantic stress.

(c) Another original short e is the final of the following occurring as the first constituents of compounds:—*paṇḍe* [as in *paṇḍe-k-kālam*], *tale-n'ā*, *piṭṭe*, *maṭṭe*, which forms are to be derived respectively from *paṇḍai*, *talai*, *piṭṭai* and *maṭṭai* [cf. Tamil forms with -ai]. Here too, semantic stress may lead to the lengthening of e, as in *maṭṭē-k-kāryam*, *paṇḍēdu*, *talēn'ā*.

Cf. Mal. വരെ vare "till", പിന്നെ pinne, ന്നാളെ n'āle with Tam. varai, pinnai, n'ālai.

Long ē

(a) The qualificatory ē of the phrasal constructions having the locative endings il and ŋgal, is derived from the terminative expletive ē appearing after these and other endings (like അതിനാലേ adināle, etc.) in old Mal. texts. This ē is a long one. In Mss., however, the sound is sometimes represented short.

The ē of -attē, of the type of kōlikkōttē-s-sabha and of the rare genitival type of n'āttāre, is (as already pointed out by me in Chap. I, § 10) analogical in origin.

The ē appearing after directives and "local" words like വടക്കേ vaḍakkē, അങ്ങേ aṅṅē, മേലേ melē, കീഴേ kīlē, in origin, is "emphatic" ē corresponding to the tēttam ē of Tam. [N, 354]. Cf. (b) below.

(b) The emphatic ē [always long, though represented in Mss. and in print sometimes as a short sound], appearing in words like the following, corresponds to Tam. tēttam ē.

(i) After pronouns:—

അയാൾ തന്നെ ayāl tannē, ആരും ഇല്ല ārumē illa, എന്തും ēdumē.

(ii) After verb-forms:—അരുചെയ്യേ ceyyē [RC], ചത്തുവെ cattuvē, ceyyollāyē [KG], കൊല്ലുമേ kollumē, ചെയ്യല്ലേ ceyyallē, ചെയ്യരുതേ ceyyarudē, ഒക്കവേ okkavē, പോലവേ pōlavē, എടുക്കണേ eḍukkaṇē [> eḍukkaṇamē], വന്നോട്ടേ van'n'ōttē [permanently embodied].

(iii) After other words:—

ഇല്ലേ illē ഒട്ടുമേ oṭṭumē, എപ്പോഴും eppērumē, അതേപ്രകാരം adē prakāram, ഒരേ കാര്യം orē kāryam, പല ആളുകൾ palē āḷugal.

(iv) After words denoting "direction", as a result of which the ē has come to be associated sometimes with a "local" meaning in Mal.

മേലേ melē, മുമ്പേ mumbē, പിമ്പേ pimbē, പാറമേ puramē, അകമേ agamē [occurring in old texts], വഴിയേ valiyē [both in Old and in New Mal.].

(c) A "disjunctive" or "restrictive" ē, connected with the "emphatic" ē occurs in the following; cf. Tam. pirinilai ē [TC, 257 and N, 354].

(i) After verb-forms:—

നടക്കുകയേ വേണ്ടു n'adakkugayē vēṇḍū, പോകേ ഉള്ളു pogē ullū, ഓടിയപ്പോൾ വീഴുകയുള്ളു ṛḍiyālē vīḷugayullū.

(ii) After other words:—

അതേ adē 'yes' [here ē is permanently embodied, as also in atrē below, used with a specialised syntactic function], മാത്രമേ māṭramē, അത്രയേ atrayē and അത്രേ atrē.

(d) The interrogative ē [Tam. vinā ē; N, 354] occurs in the following:—

വന്നില്ലേ? van'n'illē

[The difference between this form and വന്നില്ല van'n'illē with the emphatic ē is brought out in speech by a difference in the intonation of the forms].

എന്തേ endē 'what' > "why", ആരെ ārē, വരികയേ varigayē or വരികേ varigē, കൂടെ kūḍē [< kūḍayē], പോരേ pōrē, വയ്യേ vayyē, ചേണ്ടേ vēṇḍē, രാമനല്ലേ rāmanallē.

[These instances of negative questions, mentioned above, may appear (see below) with ṛ also, as വന്നില്ലയോ? van'n'illa-y-ō, വേണ്ടയോ? vēṇḍa-y-ō, etc.; but there exists a slight difference in connotation: the questions with ṛ imply greater certainty or expectation on the speaker's part about the happening of the action referred to. Van'n'illayō would, for instance, imply that the speaker expects somebody to have come; while van'n'illē need not always (though sometimes it may) convey this expectancy.]

അല്ല allē appears also as allī, and as allallī, alla-y-allī, illallī, illa-y-allī from a very early period in Old Mal.

(e) The vocative ē:—

ബാലേ bālē, രാജാവേ rājavē, ഉള്ളോയേ ullōyē, ഉള്ളോവേ ullōvē, എ! ഇവിടെ വരികേ! iviḍe variga, എന്താ endā hē.

(f) The poetic expletive or pādapūraṇa ē:— The Niraṇam Paṇikkars employ this ē plentifully in Mal. ചിത്രയാട്ടിനിയെന്നേ viḷayāṭṭ-ini-y-en'n'ē, ചൊംചൊരിയെന്നേ cen-cōri-y-anindē, വരുന്നതുകണ്ടേ varun'n'adu kaṇḍē. Cf. the isai-nirai ē of Tamil [N, 354].

(g) Interjectional ē:— എന്തേ ennē, അയ്യേ! ayyē 'shame!', അമ്മ ammē.

(h) Augment ē:— പത്തേകാൽ pattē kāl 'ten and one-fourths'

- (i) Colloquial n'an'n'ē < n'an'n'āy
 „ van'n'ē! < van'n'u vey 'come along'.

Sūtra 354 of Nannūl envisages for the literary Tamil ē the following syntactic functions:—Disjunction, question, terminative expletive, emphasis (or 'clearness'), poetic expletive and reckoning. All these except the last are represented in Mal. It may be noted that in Mal. (i) the activity of the interrogative is much greater than in Tam. [modern coll. Tam. more generally uses -ā !], (ii) the terminative expletive ē and the emphasis-denoting ē have been requisitioned as a qualificatory ē in phrasal units; (iii) the emphasis-denoting ē has almost assumed a "locative" value in valiyē, puramē, etc.; and (iv) the mere terminative expletive ē is not frequent in modern Mal., though KG and other old texts use it very commonly [modern Tam. has it in vīṭṭilē, adinālē, etc.]

The particle. ̐.

This is always long in Mal. This fact is adverted to by Līl. in the commentary on sūtra 1 of the third silpa:— "p̐" "ayyō" ityādaḥ hraswasya o- kārasya prayogo na nyāyyah.

- (a) Interrogative ̐, very active in Mal.

വന്നുവോ? van'n'uvō, ഓടിക്കൂട്ടോ? ̐ḍiṭṭō, ഇല്ലയോ illayō, അല്ലയോ allayō.

Affirmative tense-forms in Mal. use only ̐ for questions. Literary Tam. has the interrogative ē, but the modern colloquial has -ā, generally speaking.

- (b) Closely connected with the above is the "doubt-denoting" ̐ of the following:—

ആരോ വന്നു ̐ van'n'u, ആവോ ̐vō, എന്തൊപറഞ്ഞു endō paraññu, എട്ടോ ബെട്ടോ eṭṭō onbadō, ഓടിക്കൂട്ടോ ചാടിക്കൂട്ടോ കാൽ ഒടിഞ്ഞു ̐ḍiṭṭō cāḍiṭṭō kāl oḍiññu.

In expressions like ñāñ ̐vō van'n'adu? with a particular intonation, a negative meaning is implied. Tam. [TC 256, N, 355] classifies the meaning separately as edirmaṇai.

- (c) In constructions like യാതൊരുത്തൻ അതു ചെയ്തവൊ അവൻ... yātoruttan adu ceyduvō, avan....

(d) പോകയോ നാം pōgayō [KG, Vēṇ., l. 112] has the force of a polite imperative; such optative forms with ̐

occur in other chapters of KG [e. g., Gōp., 2, l. 127] and in Rām. camp.

(e) -allō, in the following, conveys the “certainty” of the speaker in such a way as to induce the person spoken to, to share the same degree of certainty about it: പോയല്ലോ pōyallō, allā-y-allō, all-allō.

allayō is different from allō in that the former sometimes implies a doubt or a question, which the latter does not.

വന്നില്ലല്ലോ van’n’illallō ‘he certainly did not come’; മാനുഷജന്മം എടുത്തതുകൊണ്ടാണല്ലോ അയാൾ മരിച്ചതു mṇuṣajanmam eḍuttadu koṇḍ-ānallō ayāḷ mariccadu; രാമൻ അല്ലല്ലോ rāman allallō.

(f) In the following, ō distinguishes a particular aspect from the others:—

ഉത്തരം അയാൾക്കില്ല ūṇō ayāḷkilla, ഓടിയപ്പോൾ വീഴും ṭḍiyālo vīlum.

(g) ō is in some areas heard in Mal. today as a vocative particle, though this is not perhaps universal.

നാരായണം n’ārāyaṇō, ശങ്കരം śaṅkarō; eḍō, of course, is characteristically Mal.

(h) Interjectional ō:—അച്ചോ accō, അയ്യോ ayyō.

(i) Colloquial വന്നോ van’n’ō > van’n’u koḷ; East Mal. ഓ ō ‘yes’.

The particle ā.

(a) In questions conveying ‘doubt’:—

ചക്കയാ cakkayā, വിട്ടിലേക്കോ viṭṭilēkkā, കുളിക്കുന്നു kuḷik-kānā, മുറിഞ്ഞു വീണിട്ടോ muṛiṇṇadu vīṇiṭṭā, പോകയാ pōgayā, ഇപ്പോൾ വന്നതോ ippōḷ van’n’adā.

In colloquial expressions like അവൻ ആ ഓടുന്ന avan ā ṭḍun’n’u, ā is perhaps the demonstrative itself.

(b) In vocatives:—എടോ eḍā, രാമോ rāmā.

(c) Exclamatory: അതോ adā, ഇതോ idā.

(d) The polite imperatives with -ga,-kka have in some old texts [cf. E] Cint.] a long ā as final, on account of stress:—അറികോ ariḡā, ചൊൽകോ colga [Sabhā., l. 444].

(e) For the neg. suffix ā of Mal., see above.

(f) In some Mss. of RC, the old infinitive participle with a, is written sometimes with a long-ā:—ഉടമ്പു വകയ്ക്കു നിളാ nīlā [650], തുമിത്തിരതനയൻ ചൊല്ലു collā [672], etc.

CHAPTER VI. THE LANGUAGE OF SOME MAL. CLASSICS.

I. THE MORPHOLOGY OF Uṇṇun'īlīsandeśam.

Inflexions.

1. The use of samskr̥tīkṛta bhāṣā forms like māḍambīnām, uṇṇun'īlīm vēṇirun'n'u, etc.
2. The rather rare use of nd'e, the singular genitive; there are only three instances in the text.
3. eññal-, as the "oblique" form; ñaññal is non-existent.
4. The inflexional stem of the neuter plural ava appears as avayitt-.
5. The use of the comparisonāl kāl with the locative, as in paṇḍēdīl-k-kāl beside normal paṇḍēdine-k-kāl [with acc.].
6. The rarity of instances with the qualificatory ē.

Verbs.

1. Old bases like vel-, kuṇikkoḷ-, uḷar-, tēṇ, etc.
2. Older forms of val-, en-.
3. Arudu is used exclusively in the older sense.
4. Present tense ending appears as ind'.
5. The presence of personal endings for tense-forms, beside those without such endings.
6. Second personal sing. tense-forms without y of the personal ending, as in māṭṭinā, vend'ā, etc.
7. The Tamil type ceyyalām beside Mal. ceyyān.
8. The use of the um-tense for third personal rational plural forms.
9. The ū-tense in the imperative kēlpū.
10. Optatives like velvūd-āga.
11. Constructions like colvunḍu.
12. Negative tense-inflected forms like aṇiyāyind'idu, allānnu etc.
13. The frequent use of the older infinitive participle.
14. Orikkāl [later Mal. orikkal].

2. CHIEF MORPHOLOGICAL PECULIARITIES OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE Niraṇam Paṇikkars.

A. Tamilisms.

A number of features in the works of the Paṇikkars appear to be far more Tamilistic than is warranted by the development of Mal. during their time. Some of these may have been used out of deference to the Tam. literary tradition, while others may have been regionally current in parts of Travancore at that time.

The test that I have applied to find out whether a particular feature was a Tamilism or not during the period of these writers [viz. late fourteenth century] is to examine whether the feature concerned is employed frequently in (i) US which chronologically preceded KR, KBhr and KBhāg, etc. (ii) Līl., the commentary on which was composed about the 14th century; and (iii) those early west coast inscriptions in which characteristic Mal. features are conspicuous.

The application of this test reveals the following linguistic features to be Tamilisms. I have confined my observations to Rāma Paṇikkar's works alone; but what I say of Rāma Paṇikkar's works would be true of the language of the other Niraṇam Paṇikkars.

Inflections:—The dominant use of the sixth case ending uḍaya, of എല്ലാം ellīrum [KR, Kišk., 258], of avayatt-, etc.

Verbs:—1. Bases of forms like pugaṇ'n'ān 'said', pēṇ-i-iyambinān 'spoke', migunda, viṇḍ- 'having split into parts', miḷvadu 'what returns', etc.

2. Personal endings ōm, īr, ana for the affirmative tense-forms; and personal terminations (wherever they exist) for all aorist negatives.

The use of the so-called cāriyai- an- in the past tense forms of the type of pugund-an-an, uratt-an-an, etc.

3. The present tense with ā-n'ind'- [or as modified into āy-n'ind'-].

4. Past stems like pugaṇnd, aṇind-, etc.

5. Rel. participles like pōna, āna.

6. "Neuter" participals like n'ilpanavum n'aḍappanavum n'aḍuṇṇi [KR, Kišk., 78]

7. Imperatives like pāṛāy [sing.], kāṇā(y) [sing.]; kāṇīr [plural].

8. Optatives like varuvōy-āga, aṇivōy-āga, ceyvōy-āga.

9. Negative participles with-āmal, as in ceyyāmal, etc.

10. Neg. conditionals like ceyyāvidil, allāl.

12. Forms like aṇiyādaḍi, varum-baḍi, ceyda-ḍi.

13. Miscellaneous:—(i) Old compounds like cey-tavam, vaḷar kumbhakarṇan, n'anneṇicēr-irāman, eila-y-illāgunavān, etc.; (ii) ettana, attana, ittana; (iii) anattu; (iv) and'i.

B. Characteristic Old Mal features in NIRAṇAM works.

Inflections:—The incorporation of the dorsal glide in words like rājāvu, guruvu, bhāryāvu, etc.; the use of āy for the third case as in tampiyyum-āyē; the use of directive forms like dikkinu pōyān [modern dikkilēkku pōy], amarulaginu celvan.

Pronouns: eṇṇāḷ- as "oblique" base; nāṇṇāḷ both as nominative and as an "oblique" base; tāṁ, tammōḍu, etc.

Verbs:—1. Bases like peḍukk-, tāḷkk-, vaḷarḷkk.

2. The present tense with- in'n'-, the intermediate stage through which Middle Tamil -g-ind'- changed to Mal. -un'n'-.

3. The past stem eḷun'in n'-.

3. Negative tense-inflected forms, beside negatives with illa.

4. Neg. relative participles with -ā and -āda [without the geminated surd -tt-].

5. Miscellaneous:—(i) varumaḷavum, varumaḷam, containing the "ancestral" form of -aḷam.

(ii) mādi pōrum beside mādi.

(iii) ind'i and in'n'i (later Mal. en'n'i).

(iv) the "isainīrai" ē.

[The kāṇām type; the verbal nouns with -ga, -kka; the um future for third personal "rationals"; tense-forms without personal endings (with and without the expletive -idu); the polite imperatives of the types of variga and van'n'ālum, are features which already exist in the works of the Paṇikkars].

C. Some chief Mal. features not met with in Nirāṇam works.

1. Sing. genitive ending (n)d'e. 2. Directives like *adilēkkū*, *n'ilattēkku*, etc. 3. Phrasal units of the type of *kāṭṭilē āna*. 4. Future with *ū* is very rare. 5. -um future for the first person. 6. -vān as in *endu-vān*.

3 CAMPU MAL.

Inflections.

1. While *śuddhasamskṛta* (not only as isolated words, phrases or even as sentences but often exclusively in complete verses) and *bhāṣīkṛta-samskṛta*¹ are everywhere common, the *samskṛtikṛta bhāṣā* forms such as are met with in some of the works of the earlier *maṇipravāla* period [like *US*] are absent.²

2. The writers of the 'great campus' show themselves to be adepts alike in composing the most complicated Sanskrit prose and in regaling the reader with the most appealing Malayalam. Some of the gadya passages in Mal. move like cascades and waterfalls. Often they are rich in colloquial expressions; and in a few, the pure "Doric" of the mass-speech is employed.

Some instances of "corruptions" of Skt. forms in the colloquial of the period are the following:—

തെണ്ണിപ്പു *teṇṇippu* [Skt. *daṇḍa*], തിവതം *tivadam* [Skt. *divasa*], പ്രമ്മർ *prammar* [Skt. *brāhmaṇa*] in *Rām. camp.*, *Vicch.*; പലിക്ക *palikka* [denom. verb from Skt. *phala*]; പാക്യം *pākyam* [Skt. *bhāgya*], തവതികൾ *tavaṣigaḷ* [Skt. *tapaświn*], കണവതിഹോമം *kaṇavati hōmam* [Skt. *gaṇapati homa*] in *Rām. camp. Aśvam.*; പ്രമത്തൻ *pramattan* [Skt. *brahmadatta*], വെലി *veli* [Skt. *bali*] in *ib.*, *Sitāsway*; കെർപ്പം *kerppam* [Skt. *garbha*] in *ib.*, *Rāmav.*,

¹ Compounds of Sanskrit and bhāṣa words occur in the campus. The principle of forming word-compounds with Skt. and Mal. constituents has existed in Mal. from the earliest times. Many such compounds have been assimilated by Mal. Cf. *L.*, III, 29, commentary. But instances like നാലുമുനാപ്പുളയെഴു [Rām. camp., *Asvam.*, g.], and ആനശ്രോതാ are certainly remarkable.

² *Candrotsavam*, a *manipravāla* work composed certainly after *Punam* had written his *Rām. camp.*, contains however a few rare instances of native words with Sanskrit endings,—പൊടിഭി [4, 7], വിളക്കമൊടന്യ [3, 129]

gadya 10; വക്കാനിച്ച vakkāṇiccu 'explained' [Skt. vyākhyāna] in ib., Kharav., അക്കോത്രം akkyōtṛam [Skt. agnihotra] in ib., കീരിഴി kiriḷi [Skt. kṛṣi], in b. Aṅg.

Some instances of native words current in the mass-colloquial of the period:—മുണുന്തി muṇuṇṇi for viḷuṇṇi; ഉമിഞ്ഞു umiṇṇu for umiṇṇu, കുപ്പനടു kuppān'adu for 'house' in ācāra bhāṣā; പാമ്മൽ paṛammēl for paṛambinmēl.

3. Among the postpositions, the following old ones may be noted:—ആയ്ക്കോണ്ടു āy-k-konḍu is used not only for 'purpose' as in പോരിനായ്ക്കോണ്ടു പാപ്പട്ട pōrināykkonḍu paṛappetṭa [Rām. camp., Bālivadh., 28], but also for the simple dative idea as in ജ്യേഷ്ഠനായ്ക്കോണ്ടു തൊ പ jyēṣṭhanāy-k-konḍu datwā [ib., Udyān, gadya], and even for the "communicative" case, as in അവനോടൊക്കെയ്ക്കോണ്ടു പറഞ്ഞു avanōḍ-āy-k-konḍu paṛaṇṇu.

ചോക്കൽ pōkkal [which occurs in BhBh, and later in E] and in Cāṇakky.] occurs in the campus [e. g., Rām. camp., Aṅg.].

-എൽ-ൽ [<mēl], restricted to regional colloquials today, in പുഷ്പകവിമാനത്തൽ puṣpakavimānattēl [ib., Udy., 34], പാമ്മൽ paṛammēl [ib., Aṅg., 6].

തൊട്ടു totṭu [with the force of പറ്റി pat'ti or കുറിച്ചു kuṛiccu], in തൊട്ടെതൊട്ടു തേ മനേസേ കോപമുണ്ടാകിൽ ṇaṇṇāle totṭu [ib., Bālivadh., gadya 6].

4. Old plurals like പാമ്പന്മാർ pāmbanmār [Gajēndr.], മകളർ magaḷar [Naiṣ. camp., 13], നാലർ nālar, എന്മാർ eṇmar, etc.

5. Instances with the comparisational കോൾ kōḷ, like the following are peculiar:—മടികയിലേക്കോൾ muḍigayilē-k kōḷ [Rām. camp., Swarg., gadya.]; മുന്നേക്കോൾ munnē-k-kōḷ [ib., Khar., 65]; ഇതിൽക്കോൾ idil-k-kōḷ [Naiṣ. camp.], ഇതേക്കോൾ idē-k-kōḷ [ib.].

6. എല്ലായിലും ellāyilum, without the augment, is common. പലവും palavum, ചിലവു cilavu [=cilava] also occur.

7. The oblique എന്റാൽ eṇṇāḷ- is occasionally met with in the campus.

1. വക്കാനിക്കു has also suffered a pejoration of meaning in some contexts [Cf. KG രാജസുയം, I, 316]. This form and some others in the above list may have been Pkt.-derived: cf. L, II, 4, comm.

8. Sanskrit constructions often appear side by side with Malayāḷam ones in the same sentence. This has led to the adoption sometimes in the Malayāḷam portion of certain unique Sanskrit syntactic usages.

(i) Sanskrit "casal" concord:—

രാമനേ വേറിരുമ്പാൽ *rāmane vēṭirun'n'al* [Rām. camp., Vicch., 54].

വേദാൽ പറപ്പെട്ടു *vēḡal purappettu* [ib., Ayōdhyā.].

രാമാൽ ഭയപ്പെടുക കൊണ്ടു *ram'al bhayappeduga-konḍu* [ib., Sugr.].

യാത്രാം മുതിർന്നിനാൽ *yātrām mudir'n'idinān* [Kalyāṇ., 32.].

In the last-mentioned instances, Sanskrit case-endings themselves are used. The use of Sanskrit inflexional concord in Malayāḷam instances is, however, comparatively rare.

Instances like ജ്യേഷ്ഠനായ്ക്കൊണ്ടു ഭക്ത്യാ *ḡyēṣṭhanāykkonḍu datwā* [Rām. camp., Udy., gadya] where *āykkonḍu* is pleonastic may have been influenced by Sanskrit "purpose" constructions with postpositions distinguishing the idea of "purpose".

(ii) Sanskrit "concord" between *viśeṣaṇa* and *viśeṣya* is imitated in Malayāḷam constructions. This is more frequent than (i) above.

സുന്ദരിയോട് സിതയോട് *sundariyōḍu sītayōḍu*

[In Malayāḷam (and south Dr. speeches generally) the construction should be *sundari-y-āya sītayōḍu*.]

1. Instances of this type occur commonly in Bh Bh:—

രാമകൃഷ്ണന്മാർ രണ്ടു വസ്ത്രങ്ങളെ ധരിച്ചാൽ തങ്ങരക്കിഷ്ടപ്പെട്ടിരികണവയെ [2, p. 22].

ഇരുനൂറു ചെടികളേയും കൊടുത്താൽ വസ്ത്രംഭരണഭൂഷിതനാരായവരെ [1, p. 3]

This "concord" is very rare before the campn period; അംബികാ മണവാളനെ അഖിലേശനെ [KR, Bāl., 238] is, however, a rare instance from the works of the Panikkars.

After the campu period, this concord was equally rare, but cf. *Unṇāyis* ഭൂതനായകനെ നീ ഭജ മൂലനെ [Na. Att.].

നിതിജ്ഞാനോടു സമന്ത്രനോടു n'itijñanōḍu sumantranōḍu
[Rām. camp., Vicch, 53].

വത്സനെ രാമം valsane rāmam [ib., 67—Here, the Skt. accusative ending is used for the viśeṣya].

ദേവനും അക്കോസലേന്ദ്രനും dēvannu akkōsalēndrannu
[ib., Sugr., 46].

രാജാ മഹേന്ദ്രനും നളനും raḍḍām mahēndrannu n'alannu
[Naiṣ-camp., 2, 7]

(iii) Other Sanskrit constructions.

നിന്നാൽ നീയതേ n'innāl gīyate [Naiṣ. camp., 2, 97].

നിന്നാൽ അനുശ്രയതാം n'innāl anuśrūyatām [Rām. camp.
Rāvaṇōdh, 70]

നീന്നോടു മമ പരവാൻ വേല ഉണ്ടെങ്കിലും n'innōḍu mama
paravān... [Bālivadh.]

ശോകമേ മമ വത്ര ശ്ലോകമേ mama varū [Naiṣ. camp.]

Verbs.

1. The older forms val-, en- and ul:-—

വല്ലതേ vallāde 'not	ഉളൻ uḷan
being able'	ഉളർ uḷar, ഉള uḷa
വല്ലില vallīla	ഉളോൻ uḷōn
വല്ലേൻ vallēn	എന്നു en'n'ū 'said'

2. അരുതു arudu employed with the older signification:—

പുകഴരുതു് ഒർത്താൽ pugalarud-ōrttāl 'impossible to praise
sufficiently' [Rām. camp. Vicch.]

പുകഴ്ത്തിടരുതു pugalttīdarud-[Kalyāṇ. gadya]

അരുതായ്ക്കിൽ arudāygiḷ, അരുതാഞ്ഞു arudāññu, അരുതാതോ
ഉം arudāḍōḷam, അരുതായ്ക്കു arudāyun'n'ū are older verb forms
based on arudu.

3. Old bases like the following:—

ഇയല [ം] iyal-	കരേറ karēṛ-
ഉഴൽ uḷal-	പുലമ്പു [ം] pulamb- 'to appear'
തിമിർ timir-kk-	കിടൈക്ക [ം] kiḍai-kk-
പിഴുക് [ം] piḷuḡ-	ചുവത്തു [ം] cuvatt-
തഴുക് [ം] taḷuḡ-	വളർ [ം] vaḷar-kk-
മാഴ്ക [ം] māḷḡ-	അമാർ [ം] amar-kk-

നിരൈക്കു n'irai-kk-	ആയു് āy- 'to attempt'
ഇകഴ് igal-	കാരു് ōr-
മകിഴ് magiḷ-	പെടുക്കു് peḍu-kk-
പുകഴ് puḡal-	പൈക്കു് pai-kk-
കറിക്കൊള്ളു് kuṛi-k-kol-	മേളംതാവ mēḷam tāv-
ഉൾച്ചേരു് ul-c-cēṛ-	മേളം മെത്തു് mēḷam mett-
ചെവിക്കൊള്ളു് cevi-	കൈ മെയ മറക്കു് kai mey
k-kol-	മാറക്ക- marakk-
ചെവിത്തരു് cevi-t-tar-	ഇളക്കൊൾ iḷa-kol-

4. Personal endings for tense-forms occur in the padya portions occasionally, beside forms without tense-endings. The gadyas generally show forms without personal terminations, though instances like ചൊന്നേൻ connēn, എത്തുവൻ ettuvan, ചൈപ്പൻ vaippan [gadya of Rām. camp., Sugr.] do also occur. The types of tense-forms with personal endings are the following :—

1st person singular past and 3rd person rational (sing. and pl.) past tense forms are fairly common with personal endings.

The second person sing. past and future forms show personal endings in rare instances—തുനിന്നായ് tuniññāy [Rām. camp., Udyān., 80], മുടിഞ്ഞായ് muḍiññāy [ib., 78], കൊണ്ടിടാൻ konḍiḍuvā (y) [with elision of final-y, in Rām. camp., Sugr., 8], മറന്നു maraṇ'n'ā(y)[ib., 65].

1st person sing. present tense and 1st person sing. future tense forms also occasionally show personal endings†

Among the negative aorist tense-forms, the following are met with:—വല്ലേൻ vallēn [1st person sing.], ആൾ പോരാതോളു് pōradō [3rd person sing. irr.—Rām. camp., Rāmāva, 87], അറിയൻ aṛiyār [3rd person rational pl.—ib., Tāḍ., 47]. Except വല്ലേൻ vallēn frequently used in the old *cliches* colla vallen, paṛavān vallēn, etc. the other types of negatives with personal endings are very rare indeed; and the characteristic Mal. negatives without personal endings had of course become quite common.

1. Apart from the above types, affirmative tense-forms do not show personal terminations in the campus. There is little doubt that even these types with personal terminations, met with in the campus, had by this time become purely literary.

5. The aorist tense with \bar{u} is employed with all Old Mal; syntactic significations:—as an indeterminate tense, in instances like $\text{eññ}\bar{u}$, $\text{n'all}\bar{u}$ and even $\text{all}\bar{u}$ [Rām camp., Sitāpar., 72], in imperatives like $\text{iripp}\bar{u}$ $\text{ariv}\bar{u}$.. $\text{vaipp}\bar{u}$.. $\text{kuḷipp}\bar{u}$.. $\text{jivipp}\bar{u}$ [Rām. camp., Paṭṭābh., 94], or in kandāvu , $\text{puṇar'n'n'āv}\bar{u}$ [Naiṣ. camp. gadya, 1], and in restrictive conditional constructions.

ഓക്കേണമു $\text{oṙkkēṇm}\bar{u}$ and വരേണമു $\text{varēṇm}\bar{u}$ are (as already pointed out by me) unique forms with \bar{u} in the campus.

6. Old past stems like cār'n'n' -, kudār'n'n' -, pugaṇṇ - beside pugaḷ'n'n' -, magiḷ'n'n' -, umiṇṇ - beside umiriṇṇ -, വിയി vīyi .

7. Old infinitive participles like the following:—
നടുങ്ങേ.....കലുങ്ങേ n'adunṇē kuluṇṇē [Kalyāṇ.], നിവിര
ചെല്ലി n'ivira-c-colli , മെയ്യിട കലയനടന്നു kulaya n'adan'n'u .

The verbal noun കാണക kāṇga is employed with an infinitive participle force sometimes:— വാനോർ കാണക vānōr kāṇge ... muḍiccu [Rām. camp., Tāḍ., 25], നീ കാണകെ തന്നെ
ഞാൻ മരിപ്പൻ $\text{n'i kāṇge-t-tanne ṇān marippan}$ [Rāvaṇavij.]

8. Participials used with the force of imperatives, like ക
ണ്ടാവിതു kandāvidu , പുണർന്നാവിതു puṇar'n'nāvidu , മകന്നാവിതു
 mugaṇ'n'nāvidu .

The singular imperative of the type of ചെയ്യാതേ ceyyādē , occurs in rare instances:— വേദിയായതേ khēdiyādē [Naiṣ. camp. 2, 31].

നംഭെ പകയോ pōgayō [Udyān., 9] with a gentle imperative force.

9. The concessive with എന്നും ēnum is common in instances like ēdēnum , eññēnum , ārēnum .

The suffixal -വാൻ -vān denoting “doubt” occurs in Naiṣ. camp. in എന്തുവാൻ enduvān [1, 38].

10. Peculiar “relative participial” constructions പാരിശ്ചേ
മല പാറകളും $\text{pāricco cila pāragalum}$ [Rām. camp., Khārav., ga-
dya]; കരഞ്ഞാമല പിള്ളകളും $\text{karaṇṇō cila piḷḷagalum}$ [ib.].

11. The occasional use of participial nouns like കൂട്ടം $\text{kū-
ttūdam}$ [Rām. camp., Sugr., 7], കാട്ടൂട്ടം kāṭṭūdam [Kirātam, 58], beside normal എന്താവതു endāvadu , പറവതു parāvadu , etc., and forms with -idu like കൈകാൽ ഇളക്കാവിതു $\text{kāi kāl iḷakkāvidu}$ [Kalyāṇ., 27]

12. Negative tense-inflected forms of all types are met with in the campus.

13. The negative aorist with final -ā [for all persons already in Mal. before the period of the campus] is employed in connection with a larger number of words than today:—നായണൻ എന്നോടൊപ്പം n'ārāyaṇan ennoḍ-oppā [Rāvaṇaviḥ.], ചൊവ്വം ovvā [Rām. camp., Rāv.], പോര പോറā [ib., Vicch.], ചൊവ്വം ovvā.

14. Negative formations like പുകഴാമല്ല pugaḷāmallā [Rām. camp., Rāv.], മനസിപൊരായുന്നല്ല manasi porāyun'n'adilla [ib., Sugr.], വാഴത്താവതല്ല vāḷttāvadalla [ib., Sītāsway., gadya].

Miscellaneous

മതിയുണ്ടു് mādi-y-uṇḍu [Rām. camp., Kharav., 87] beside mādi; also പോരും pōrum 'enough' [ib.]; ഒരിക്കൽ orikkāl [ib., beside orikkal.

4. PROMINENT OLD MAL. PECULIARITIES IN THE LANGUAGE OF KṛṣṇAGĀTHA

1. Nominal bases:—മാണുപ māṇbu; ചാച്ച ṛcca; പട്ടാങ്ങ pa-ṭṭāṇṇu; നൂറുണ്ടു് n'uruṇṇu; പുളു pulḷu; ആച്ചിമാർ āccimār; ഓലക്കം ōlakkam; കോഴ kōḷa; തണ taṇma; വായ്പ vāypu; അതിമയക്കു andimayakku; ആനായർ āṇāyar; വീഴ്പുകൾ vīḷpugal; പേ pē; കൂ 'kū (as in കൂ പറയുക kū paṛayuga); ചേവടിഞ്ഞല്ല cēvaḍi-t-tellu 'the edge of the sacred feet,' അല്ലൽ allal; അത്തൽ attal; ഇടർ iḍar; ഇണ്ടൽ iṇḍal; ചായലാർ cayalār; ഉമ്പർകോൻ um-barkōn; വിണ്ണു viṇṇu; മാനം mānam [vānam]; തിട്ടതി tiṭṭadi; ഓമൽ ōmal; പുളു pulḷu.

Adaptations from Skt. (or Prakrit):—തോഴി gōṣṭhi 'assemblage'; native കോട്ടി kōṭṭi sanskritized as gōṣṭhi 'pranks' also occurs in KG; ദീനം dīnam 'wretchedness' [not 'illness']; ശിക്ഷ śikṣa 'instruction' and 'punishment'; അങ്കി aṅgi; വാല്യായൻ vāḍhyāyan; സംസാരം samsāram (only 'worldliness'); ആദാസൻ (with the modern meaning); വക്കാനം vakkāṇam (from Pkt; the meaning in KG is 'quarrel'); വാതം vādam 'wind'; സംഗതി saṅgati 'union'; പണ്ടാരം paṇḍāram; ശിക്ഷ śikṣa in ശിക്ഷയിൽ ലിക്ഷൽകവർ.

2. The second case:—(i) ദേശങ്ങൾപിന്നിട്ടു dēśaṇṇal pinnittu; അമ്പാടി മുന്നിട്ടു āmbāḍi munnittu;—; തിരുത്തെ വേറിട്ടു sīdatte vēritt.

(ii) വേളിയെത്തൊട്ടുള്ളൊരുതസവം vēliye-t-tottuḷḷor-ulsavam ; തമ്പുരാനെത്തൊട്ട് tamburāne-t-tott-; വെണ്ണയും പാലും തൊട്ടുള്ള കൊതി vennayum pālum tott-.

(iii) കൃഷ്ണനെക്കൊണ്ടു പറയുക kṛṣṇane-k-konḍu paṛayuga; എന്നുകൊണ്ടുള്ള വാർത്ത en'n'adu konḍ-uḷḷa vārtta; etc.

3. The third case:— (i) ṭḍ-āy- and ṭḍ-āyittu in the “communicative”:— കംസനോടായി ചൊന്നാൻ; താതനോടായിട്ട് ചൊല്ലിനാൻ tadanṭḍāyitt-; മാതാമിനോടായിട്ട് ചൊല്ലി നിന്നിടീനോർ māḍāvinṭḍ-āyitt-; etc.

(iii) ṭḍ- in connection with separation:— കൈരോട്ടുവേരാം മണികരം kairṭḍu vēṛām; പങ്കജം തന്നോട്ടുവേർപെട്ട് paṅkajam tannṭḍu vēṛpaṭṭ-.

4. The fourth case:— (i) -inu or -innu as the dative ending, in പാരിനം pārinum, മാലിന്നു mālinnu, വേലിന്നു vēlinnu; but പൈതൽക്കു paidalkku, കുഴൽക്കു kuḷalkku. etc.

(ii) āy and āyitt- to express the dative idea: ദേവകിക്കായിട്ട് നൽകിടീനാൻ dēvakikk-āy-itt-, സോദരനായ് കൊടുത്തു sōdarannāy, ആരണനായിട്ട് നൽകിനാൻ āraṇann-āy-ittu, കാട്ടാളനായിട്ട് കാട്ടിയയ് നൽകിനാൻ kaṭṭāḷan-āyittu.

5. The directives:— (i) മേലുട്ട് mēḷpaṭṭu, കീഴ്പട്ട് kīḷpaṭṭu; forms with -ṭṭu like അങ്ങോട്ട് aṅṅṭṭu, തെക്കോട്ട് tekkṭṭu are rare in KG.

(ii) ആമ്മോർ āmmāṛu has sometimes a directive force: വിണ്ണിലങ്ങാമ്മോർ viṇṇil-aṅṅ-āmmāṛu, വാതിലുപാമ്മോർ vādilkkal-āmmāṛu, തേരിലങ്ങാമ്മോർ teril-aṅṅ-āmmāṛu.

(iii) നോക്കി n'ōkki frequently appears with a directive meaning: കാട്ട് നോക്കി ചാടിനാൻ kaḍḍu n'ōkki, കാരാമം നോക്കി kārāṭṭam n'ōkki, അങ്ങ നോക്കി എണ്ണു n'ōkki, പിൻനോക്കി pin n'ōkki, ചാരക നോക്കി dvaraka n'ōkki.

(iv) -innu, the dative ending, is used “directively” in കാലപുരത്തിന്നു പുകം kālapurattinnu.

ēkk and il-ēkk or -iṅgal-ēkk do not appear in KG at all.

(v) Rarely āykkonḍu has a directive meaning: തേരിലങ്ങാ തെക്കോട്ട് ചാഞ്ഞു tēril-aṅṅ-āykkonḍu.

6. The sixth case:— The use of the genitive instead of the dative (cf. Skt.) in ബാലകന്മാരുടെ ഹിംസ ചെയ്യു *bālakanmāruḍe himsa ceydu*, നിന്നുടെ ഹാനി വരാതെ *n'innuḍe hāni varāde*.

7. The seventh case:—(i) മുന്നമേ *munnamē*, തിരമേ ഓടിനാർ *tiramē*, കൂടമേ *kūṭṭamē*, അകമേ *agamē*.

(ii) ഇട *iḍa* as a postposition in കാലിട *kāliḍa*, മനീട *man- niḍa*, etc.

(iii) The frequent use of the "loose" postpositions ചാരത്തു *cārattu*, അണയത്തു *aṇayattu*, മുന്നൽ *munnal*.

8. The eighth case:—ഉള്ളോനെ *uḷḷōne*, ഉള്ളോയെ *uḷḷōyē* and ഉള്ളോവേ *uḷḷōvē*:—

കാലേയ ചാറാരം മാറുള്ളോനെ	<i>uḷḷōne</i>
അന്ധനായുള്ളോയെ	<i>uḷḷōyē</i>
നിത്യനായുള്ളോവേ	<i>uḷḷōvē</i>

9. Pronouns:—എങ്ങർ *eṇṇaḷ*-as the inflexional stem of ഞങ്ങൾ *ṇṇaṇṇaḷ* is very frequent in KG, beside *ṇṇaṇṇaḷ* itself.

(ii) *eṇṇaḷ* appears even as a nominative in എങ്ങർ വസിക്കുന്നു *eṇṇaḷ vasikkun'n'u*, എങ്ങർ മരിച്ചില്ലല്ലോ *eṇṇaḷ maḍiccillallō*, etc.

(iii) The following may be noted:—

ഞങ്ങൾ തങ്ങൾ *ṇṇaṇṇaḷ taṇṇaḷ* 'we ourselves';

സിംഹങ്ങൾ തന്നുടെ *simhaṇṇaḷ tannuḍe* [sing. *tannuḍe* associated with a plural noun];

ദന്തങ്ങൾ തന്നുടെ *dantaṇṇaḷ tannuḍe*;

പുണ്യങ്ങൾ തന്നുടെ *punyaṇṇaḷ tannuḍe*;

മന്ത്രകളെല്ലാം തന്നുടെ തന്നുടെ *mantrigaḷ-ellārum tannuḍe tannuḍe* [Note, besides the use of the singular *tannuḍe*, the iteration of *tannuḍe*; this is quite common in KG and even in E];

തങ്ങളിൽ തങ്ങളിൽ *taṇṇaḷil taṇṇaḷil*.

10. Verb- bases:—

ഓർ <i>ōr</i>	പുലമ്പ് <i>pulamb</i> -to	വിയ് <i>vīy</i> -
താവ് <i>tāv</i> -	appear'	നണ്ണ് <i>n'aṇṇ</i> -
മെത്തു് <i>mett</i> -	കേഴ് <i>kēḷ</i> -	തഞ്ചെട്ട് <i>tanpeḍ</i> -
ഇയല് <i>iyal</i> -	പുകു് <i>pūg</i> -	ഓങ്ങു് <i>ōṅṅ</i> - 'to appear'
പയാറ് <i>payat</i> -	മാഴുകു് <i>māḷg</i> -	തുമയ്ക്കു് <i>tumai-kk</i> - 'to
ചവത്തു് <i>cuvatt</i> -	ഉഴയ്ക്കു് <i>uḷai-kk</i> -	sneeze'

എയ്യുട്-	പതുക്കു padu-kk-	തലച്ചെട്ടു talapped-
ഓലു് റ്റ-	'to become soft'	മെരിച്ചു meriḷ-
കോലു് kōḷ-	എഴു് eḷ-	പെണ്ണു penṇu-
ഓതു് ṭḍ-	തഴയ്ക്കു taḷaikk-	തഞ്ചു tañj-
അഞ്ചു añj-	തമിഴു tamiḷ-	

(ii) Adaptations from Skt:— മേളിക്ക mēḷikk-, സംസിക്ക samsikk-, ഗോപിക്ക gōpikk-, തേവറിക്ക tēvārikk-, ന്യസിക്ക n'yasikk-, തല്പിക്ക taḷpikk-, സമ്മാനിക്ക sammāṇikk- 'to honour', etc.

(iii) പെടുക്കു peḍu-kk-, വച്ചു valaḷ-kk- (beside വച്ചതു valartt-), താഴ്ക്കു tāḷ-kk- (beside താഴ്തു tāḷtt-), ഉയർക്കു uyaḷ-kk- (beside ഉയർതു uyarṭt-), തളർക്കു taḷaḷ-kk-, വിടർക്കു viḍur-kk-, വീശർക്കു vīḷ-kk- (beside വീശ്തു vīḷtt-)

(iv) The older use of en- in എൻ enmar, എന്നുമോറ ennumbōḷ, എന്മോളം enmōḷam, എന്മാൻ enmān, എന്നാൻ (=പറഞ്ഞാൻ) en'nān.

(v) val- in വല്ലി valḷi, വല്ലത്തു vallun'n'ṭtu, വല്ലു valḷu, വല്ലവോൻ valluvōn, the negatives വല്ലെൻ valḷēn and വല്ലാൻ vallān, വല്ലാതെ vallāde, വല്ലാത്തു vallāttu.

(vi) ol- in ഒല്ലം olḷam, ഒല്ലാത്തു olḷāttu.

(vii) arud- in അരുതായുനു arudāyun'n'u, അരുതാത്തു arudāttu, അരുതാതെ arudāde.

arudu, preceded by the infinitive participle, exclusively signifies 'difficulty' or 'impossibility' in KG.

II. Personal endings:—Forms with and without personal endings appear; wherever they appear, the personal terminations are of the following types.

Fairly frequent are the following:—First person present and past sing.; third person "rational" past sing. and plural; second pers. past sing.; first person sing. future.

The following are represented, though not very frequent:—

First person present plural നിന്നിടന്നോ n'in'n'idun'n'om.

Second person present sing. ചോക്കുന്നായോ pōḷgun'n'āyō ചരിക്കുന്നായോ cadikkun'n'āyō.

Second person future sing. ചൊല്ലുവായ് colluvāy and third person future pl. n'alguvar, കോഴച്ചെട്ടുപ് kōḷappeduppar.

The following are peculiar:—പൊരുപ്പൻ നീ poruppan n'i ചൊല്ലിനാൻ നീ collinān n'i, ആക്കിനാൻ നീ ākkinān n'i.

12. Past stems:—ആണ് āṇṇ-, വീണ് vīṇṇ- (beside വീണ vīṇ-), തമിണ് tamīṇṇ-, പകണ് pugāṇṇ-, ഉമിണ് umīṇṇ- (beside ഉമിഞ്ഞു umiṇṇi-), തണ്ണ് tāṇṇ- (beside താണ് tāṇ-), വിതു vid- of vī, ചൊന്നു conn-.

13. Future with -um: അങ്ങനെയൊല്ലം nāṇṇal collum, നിങ്ങളും n'iṇṇal kūḍum, നൽകുന്നി n'alḡum n'i are some instances of the use of um for the first and the second persons.

14. Aoristic tense with ṭ.—All old types exist in KG. The following formations with analogical ṭ may be noted as almost unique: ഉള്ളി uḷḷiṭ, കയ്യിṭ kayyilṭ; ഉണ്ടുṭ uṇḍ-uḷḷiṭ is a peculiar form.

15. The old infinitive participle is represented in most of its old syntactic varieties:—(i) "Simultaneity":—നോക്കി നിനിടവേ n'ōkki n'in'n'īḍavē, കണ്ടാക്കുന്ന kēṇikkāṇṇa, വിഴിവിഴ vīḷa vīḷa, പൊങ്ങപ്പെടാങ്ങ poṇṇappoṇṇa, തുളളതുളള tullattullā; (ii) "Effect":—വരറപ്പോക്കുവരൻ vēr-ara-p-pōkkuvāṇ, ഉള്ളം കലങ്ങക്കൊത്തുṭ uḷḷam kulunṇa-k-karaṇṇu, കേൾക്കച്ചൊന്നാൻ kēḷḷka-c-conṇān-; (iii) with tuḍaṇṇi:—ഉക്കത്തുടങ്ങിനാൻ uḷḷattuḍaṇṇi, എഴുത്തുടങ്ങിḷḷattuḍaṇṇi (beside എഴുന്ന് ഉടങ്ങി eḷḷuṇ'n'u tuḍaṇṇi).

16. ആർ āṛ, suffixed to relative participles, signifies 'manner'. ആരേ āṛē in the same context denotes 'time'.

17. Conditionals and concessives:—ചാഞ്ഞിനാൽ cāṭṭināl, ലർന്നതാനാൽ pularṇ'n'ūḍānāl are peculiar.

ālum in ആലോ arālum, ḷum in ആലോ āṛalum, Ṭenum in എങ്ങനും eṇṇṬenum etc.

18. Imperatives:—നീ കൊരവു n'i koḷvū, നീ ചൊൽവു n'i colvū, നാം വച്ചുകൊരവു n'am..koḷvū, പൂജിപ്പു നാം pūjippū n'am; ഞാൻ മുക്കൻതാവു, ചേർത്താവു mugarṇ'n'ūḍāvū, cēṭṭūḍāvū, നാം ആഞ്ഞുളയവു āṇuṇṇāḷāyāvū, ഞാൻ ആരായ്വു āṛāyvū, അവൻ വന്നാവുതു van'n'āyvūḍū, etc.

19. Third personal appellatives:—ദൂരത്താൻ dūrattān, പിന്നിലാൻ pinnilān, കാതനം തന്നിലാൻ kāṇānam tannilān, സപ്പത്താൻ sarpaṭṭān, കറച്ചയോൻ kaṭṭācāḍayān, വാത്താരിൽ മാതിനെപ്പുണന്ന

മാരടയോൻ mārūḍayōn, ദുരത്തു dūrattūdu, ചാരത്തു cārattūdu, നല്ലതു n'allūdu, എങ്ങു eṅṅūdu, ഉള്ളതു ullūdu.

20. Negatives with tense-suffixes:—കാണയിന്നു kaṇṇayin'n'u, നടക്കരുതായന്നു arudāyun'n'u, ചൊറക്കരുതായന്നു poṟukk-arudāyun'n'u.

The past type is quite common.

The future is represented only in participials like വരുന്നതിന്നു, etc.

Prohibitives like വരായ് varāyga, നില്ലായ്വിൻ n'illāyvin, പോകായ്വിൻ poḡāyvin; participles like തൻപെടാത്താൻ taṇ peḍāy-vān, നേരിടാത്താൻ n'ēriḍāy-vān.

Aorist forms:—First pers. sing വല്ലേൻ vallēn, നൽകേൻ n'al-gēn, ചെയ്യേൻ cēyyēn.

The second pers. sing and pl. are not met with.

Third person "rational" പോരാൾ pōrāl, നില്ലാൻ n'illār, കൈ വിടാൻ kaividār.

Third person irrational പാറാ പാഴ് paṟṟa, വരാ varā, എന്താ eṣṣā.

21. Other negatives:—(i) ചെയ്യാല്ലാതെ ceyyollādē, മറക്കാല്ലാതെ marakkollādē, വാങ്ങാല്ലാതെ vāḍollādē.

(ii) The type പുകുന്നതല്ല pūgun'n'ōnalla, ചിത്തനോളല്ല cindun'n'ōḷalla, കയക്കുന്നതല്ല kayarḱkun'n'ōḷalla, തോന്നത്തല്ല tōn'n'un'n'ūdilla.

(iii) olla in ആശാല്ലാ നാം n'ūḷolla is used also for the first person.

(iv) വന്നുകൂടാ van'n'u kūḍā, വചിച്ചുകൂടാ vaciccu kūḍā and similar constructions have only the meaning of "impossibility". The more modern signification of "prohibition" does not exist for this type in KG.

(v) കൊല്ലാതെ കൊൾ kollādē koḷ, തറാതെ തെർക്കുവാൻ tāradē koḷ, കുമ്പാതെ കുമ്പർക്കുവാൻ kūmbādē koḷ.

22. Miscellaneous:—(i) കളിച്ചുണ്ടു kaliccuṇḍu, വന്നുണ്ടു van'n'ūṇḍu (=modern കളിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു kaliccittuṇḍu, van'n'ittuṇḍu).

(ii) വന്നാൻ van'n'ānum with the meaning of 'would have come'.

(iii) A finite with-ūdum stands frequently in KG for the conditional idea expressed today by-ēnē (as in പോയേനേ pōyēnē):—

ആനനം കണ്ടാകിൽ....പുണ്ടുതം താൻ pūṇḍūdum; തോരവളകുകിൽ ഏറം നിറഞ്ഞു n'īran'n'ūdum; ഇനിയു നൽകകിൽ നന്നായിതു in'n'. idu n'alguṅil n'an'n'āyidum; കണ്ടുജ്ജാരാരാനുണ്ടായിരുന്നാകിൽ കണ്ണനിരിന്നുമേമാറാഞ്ഞിതു mṛṇṇidum; ഞാൻ യാചിച്ചുനിന്നാകിൽ തന്നതുതം താൻ tan'n'ūdum tān.

5. OLDER FEATURES IN THE LANGUAGE OF EḷUTTASŠAN

Though Eḷuttaššan may be considered as having “ushered in” the New Mal. period, there was no complete break with the past, and several older linguistic features continued to exist in the language employed by this great writer.

I sum up below these older features, particularly those in morphology. Some of these may have been merely due to what one may term “linguistic tradition”, while the others represented the living language of the times. It may not be possible to differentiate these two in all instances, especially in view of the fact that the tempo of the evolution of Mal. varied with regions and communities; but many instances may, on the basis of circumstantial evidence, be classified as “purely traditional” or “actively colloquial” during the period.

I have cited instances here from Rāmāyaṇam, Mahābhāratam, Cintāratnam, the first nine skandhas of Bhāgavatam, Hari-n'āmakīrttanam and Kaivalyaṇ'avan'itam.

Inflections.

1. Nominal bases.—Many old bases, not current in modern Mal., occur in Eḷ's works: അന്തൺ andanar, വാണലകം vāṇulagam, ഇണ്ടൽ iṇḍal, ഇടർ iḍar, വിണ്ണോർ vinṇōr, ആയർ āyar, വിള vilā, പൈ pai [= വിശപ്പ് viśappu], എപ്പേരും eppērum, അത്തൽ attal, ഉമ്പകും umbarkku, മറയോർ marayōr, മാൽ mā, തീയതു tiyadu, ചാക്കു cākkū ‘death’, കള്ളക്കുഴു kaḷḷakkāḍu ‘adharma’, [cf. കാടായ് kad-āy ‘wrongly’, ‘imperfectly’ in KG and in Rām. camp.], പാലന്നം pālannam ‘swan’; old compounds like കാലന്തർ kālanṭar, പാലൻ കാലന്തർ pālān kaḷanṭar, നൂറ്റുപേർ nūṭṭupēr, കൊണ്ടൽനേർപ്പൻ koṇḍal n'ēr varṇan, മൈക്കണ്ണി mai-k-kannī,

കന്നൽ നെർമിഴിയൊർ kannal n'ēr miliyāḷ, മാൻനെർമിഴിത്തയ്യലൊർ mān n'ēr miḷi-t-tayyalāḷ, മറകുളുടെ മറാപൊരുൾ maarḡaḷude mara-poruḷ, etc.

2. The association with bases of dative -n(u) and -kk(u) had become more or less clearly differentiated by the time of Eḷ; but one finds പോർക്കു pōrkku beside pōrinu, കാലു kākku, വിരലു viralkku, തണ്ണീർക്കു tanniṛkkku, കാലത്തു kālan-ūrkkku; but പാരിന്നു pārinnu.

3. The sixth case nd'e has of course become fully evolved but-ude is sometimes employed in the stead of nī'e for "prosodic" purposes. The older usage of the type ഭരതൻ തൻ ചൊല്ലാല bharatan tan colḷale to express the genitive idea is also met with in Eḷ as an "archaism".

4. -uḷḷōvē as a sambodhana ending exists in Eḷ's Bh. eḍō occurs in Eḷ in connection with both masculines and feminines, with the connotation of 'familiarity without contempt': എന്തേടോ സുന്ദരിയായ നീ endēḍō sundariyāya nī.

5. The plural നൽപ്പൊങ്ങൊർ n'irmaryādaṇṇāḷ beside നീക്കുപ്പൊക്കൊർ n'irmaryādagal; മകളർ magaḷar; നാൽവർ, ഏഴുവർ, എണ്ണർ; ഭ്രാതാക്കൾ bhrātākkal, രാജാക്കൾ rājākkal; കുറുക്കാരർ kuralakkārar, ചതിക്കാരർ cadikkārar.

6. The locative postposition pōkkal and the ablative pōk-kal-n'in'n'u are met with in Eḷ.

Other old postpositions are cārattu, apayattu, agalattu, arigattu.

7. Instances like the following are not unusual in Eḷ: അവിടേക്കായ്ക്കൊണ്ടിനിപ്പോകുന്നതു aṇḍēkkāykkonḍu; സുഗ്രീവനായ്ക്കൊണ്ടു രാജ്യം നൽകിനാൻ sugrivanāykkonḍu; അവനോടായ്ക്കൊണ്ടു ചോദിച്ചാൻ avanōḍāykkonḍu cōdiccān; പത്രമോടായ്ക്കൊണ്ടുവെ ഉപദേശിച്ചു putṛarōḍāykkonḍ-upadēṣiccu

8. Directives with āykkonḍu, n'ōkki, āmmāru, besides others.

9. The following peculiarities of "casal" concord:

(i) പിന്നിട് pinnid-, മുന്നിട് munnid-, വേറിട് vēriḍ- often govern the accusative.

(ii) 'Separation' is optionally associated with the third case ending ഓട ṭḍu.

(iii) 'Fear' is associated with the fifth case rarely in instances like രാജവർ പോക്കൽ നിന്നുള്ള ഭയം Rāghavan pōkkal n'in'n'uḷḷa bhayam.

10. The augment-*at-*is very commonly employed in the inflexions of the neuter plurals *ava*, *iva* *pala*, *ellā*. While അവരെ *avattē*, അവരിൽ *avattin*, പലരിലും *palattēlum*, ഇവരൊൽ, etc. are common, forms like അവയിരിലും *avayittēlum*, പലവരിൽ *palavattēil*, etc. do not exist in Eḷ.

എല്ലായിലും *ellāyilum* without the augment does occur, though rarely.

ഇവകൊണ്ടു *ivakonḍu*, അവകൊണ്ടു *avakonḍu*, പലവുകൊണ്ടുവന്നു *palavum konḍu van'n'u* are instances where the augment-*at-*is is absent.

11. പലവും *palavum* [the old plural] and പലതും *paladum* are both used by Eḷ in pronominal apposition: പലവുമാശ്രയിക്കുന്നു *palavum*, ഫലമുലാഭിക്കു പലവും, beside ഇത്തന്നെയുംപലതും *paladu*, ഭന്നിമിത്തങ്ങൾപലതും, etc. (അക്കാദമി)

12. എങ്ങനെ *eṇṇā* as an inflexional base; forms like *tam-m-e*, *tam-m-māl* and *tam-m-uḍe*.

13. The employment of forms of *tān* and *tām*, as in the following:—തനിയെപരിവേഷനംചെയ്തു *taniyē* 'alone'; തോക്കുതങ്ങളെ *gōkkaḷ taṇṇāḷē* 'the cows of their own accord'; തന്നെതന്നെ *tannuḍe tannuḍe*; തങ്ങളാൽ തങ്ങളാൽ ആയസല്ക്കാരവും *taṇṇāḷaḷ taṇṇāḷaḷ*.

Verbs.

1. Some of the older verb-bases occurring in Eḷ but now gone out of use, are the following:—*ōr*-, *tālug*-, *mālg*-, *ilāikk*-, *uḷṟ*-, *kiḷikk*-, *vāykk*-, *taykk*-[used in also the present and in the future, as *taykkun'n'u*, *taykkum-bōḷ*], *mīl*-, *mutṭ*-, *n'ann*-, *iḷkk*-, *ūkk*- [*n'ir ūkk*], *kiḷar*- 'to rise', *polikk*- 'to extinguish', *vāṇṇ* [=modern *pin-vāṇṇ* 'to retreat'], *karayēṟ*-, *karēṟ*- [no *kayar*-or *kēṟ*-in Eḷ], *padukk*-, *anb*-, *ēg*-, *iṟakk*-, *n'ikkol*-.

2. Denominative verbs like തളിച്ചു *garbiccu*, എങ്കിച്ചു *ēgiccu*, ഉണ്ണിച്ചു *uṣṇiccu*, നന്ധിച്ചു *gandhiccu*, ഉഷ്ണക്കു വിധേയം *uṣe-kkum vidhau*, മോഹിച്ചു *mōhiccu* 'having become desperate' [a

meaning not current for this word today], വ്യാഗ്രിച്ഛ^o vyagriccu, kṛuddhiccu, bhalsiccu, n'amiccu.

3. The bases peḍu-kk-¹, vaḷar-kk-, amar-kk-, [modern peḍuttvaḷarṭt- and amarṭt-] having their past with-i-, occur in Eḷ. peḍukk is almost exclusive in Eḷ, while vaḷarṭt- and amarṭt alternate with vaḷar-kk-and amar-kk-

ചവത്തുക^o cuvatt- 'to make red' is common.

4. ഉളർ uḷar, ഉളരായർ uḷar-āyār, ഉളനായൻ uḷanāyēn are traditionary forms occurring in Eḷ.

5. അരു^o arudu in compounds with the infinitive participle as the first constituent, expresses in Eḷ both the older ideas of 'difficulty, impossibility' as in ചൈവേരക്കി ചൊല്ലരുതേ^o ^oച, and the evolved idea of 'prohibition' [the modern meaning].

As verbal forms, അരുതാരു^o arudān'n'u, അരുതാരു^o arudāda have the older meaning.

എന്നാർ en'nār and എന്മാൻ enmān are instances of forms of en- with the primary meaning 'to say'.

6. Val- occurs not only in വല്ലൻ vallen, വല്ലാത്ത^o vallān-വല്ലാതെ vallāde, വല്ലാതെ vallāda [older meaning], വല്ല valla [modern meaning !], but also as വല്ലകയില്ല vallugayilla.

ol- also appears as ollā, ollāda, ollāde, pollāda karmmam shows a form of the "defective" verb pol-.

7. The reinforcer-kk-is absent in forms like തോലാവണ്ണം^o tolādavannam, ഇരിയർ iriyār, ബഹുമാനിയായതേ^o bahumāniyāde, കേളം^o കേ^o kēḷāde.

8. The use of personal endings for tense-forms in Eḷ's works is purely a tradition inherited from the past. These personal endings must have died out from the colloquial some centuries before the time of Eḷ.

It is to be noted that Eḷ avoids using personal endings for the second person plural,¹ the first person plural, third person

(1) Eḷ uses ബന്ധപ്പെട്ടുക^o generally to mean 'bind, as a captive' [El Ram, p. 217], but Bhag. has ബന്ധപ്പെട്ട with the meaning having been in a hurry¹.

(1) Barely, second personal sing. forms are met with:—കണ്ടയോ [Bh], മരിക്കുന്നയോ [Bh]

'irrational' plural. I have already pointed out that, while the Nirāṇam Paṇikkars employ personal endings for all these types, the personal endings for these types become more and more infrequent in the texts, till in E₁ they appear uniformly without personal terminations.

Nor does E₁ use the negative aorist tenses with personal endings like the Paṇikkars. Of course, forms like കൂടം kūḍa, വരം varā, ചെയ്യം ceyyā, [employed for all persons!] do occur; but those with personal endings like അറിയേം ariyōm, വാരായ് vārāy, പോകേൻ pōgēn are conspicuous by their absence, except for the "traditional" ചൊല്ലവല്ലേൻ colla vallēn.

9: Among the past stems, pugaḷn'n'- beside pugaṇṇ-, magiḷn'n'- beside magiṇṇ- occur in E₁.

Other old past stems are kudaṇn'n'- [for modern kudaṛi], kiḷaṇn'n'- [for kiḷaṛi-].

Past forms like മുടക്കിയൻ muḍakkiyān, ചൊല്ലിയൻ colliyēn are met with beside മുടക്കിനൻ muḍakkinān, etc.

10. The ū- aorist occurs in E₁ with all its older syntactic significations.

നല്ലു n'allū, എങ്ങു eṇṇū, അവകൾ avaṅgalū, എവിടത്തു eviḍattū also illustrate the dominance of the use of this particle during the period.

11. The older use of the infinitive participle with -a, illustrated by the following instances, was, in E₁'s period, perhaps tradition-derived:—കേൾക്കപ്പറഞ്ഞില kēḷkka-p-paraṇṇila, നീവിരനിലവിളിച്ചു n'ivira n'ilaviḷiccu, ചൊല്ലവല്ലേൻ colla vallēn, വില്ലുകഴിയെക്കലച്ചു villu kuḷiye-k-kulaccu, വിരയെപ്പോയ viraye-p-pōy [beside വിരവോടുപോയ viravōḍū pōy, or വിരഞ്ഞുപോയ viraṇṇu pōy], വിരയെക്കൊടുക്കനി viraye-k-koḍukka n'i, അടയസ്സംഹരിച്ച aḍaya-s-samhariccu, കേഴത്തുടങ്ങിനാർ kēḷa-t-tuḍaṇṇinār [beside common കേണതുടങ്ങി kēṇu tuḍaṇṇi], എല്ലാവരുംകാണുകെ ഇഴച്ചതും ellāvarum kāṅge iḷaccadam [Note peculiar use of കാണുക kāṅge instead of കാണെ kāṇe; such instances exist in the campus.]

12. കാണായ് kāṇāy, കാണാവു kāṇāvū, കാണാവതല്ല kāṇāvadalla illustrate the use of the forms of the older compounds of the inf. participle with āg-.

13. Eḷ's use of ഒക്കെക്കും okkaikkum in Cint. shows how this old infinitive participle had already become "decolorised".

14. Relative participles with-ina, like തിന്നിനാ, വാണിദിനാ, etc., are "traditionary" forms, the characteristic Mal. forms being with -iya.

15. āru, preceded by relative participles, occurs with the meanings of 'manner' and of 'time' in Eḷ.

16. The singular imperative of the type of ചെല്ലാതെ kollāḍe is occasionally met with in Eḷ.

17. Optatives like ജയിപ്പതാക രാമൻ jayippūḍāgā rāman, അറിയുകയ്ക്കായ് വരിക aṟiyumāyvariga.

18. The particle-vān expressive of 'doubt' as in ആരുവാന āruvān, occurs in Cintāratnam.

19. The, unique Mal. negatives with tense-affixes are all represented in Eḷ's works, though the more common type of negative forms also abounds.

ചെയ്യായുനു ceyyāyun'n'u and kūḍāyun'n'u are pr. tense forms.

The past tense type is more numerously represented.

Though I have not been able to locate any future negative finites of the types of ചെയ്യായു ceyyāyum and ചെയ്യായ്കു ceyyāyvū in Eḷ's works, forms like കൂട്ടാക്കെയ്വതിനു kūṭṭakkāyvadinnu based on future stems, exist.

Infinitive participles like തട്ടായ്വൻ tattāyvan, ഓടായ്വൻ oḍāyvan; plural imperatives like മിണ്ടായ്വിൻ miṇḍāyvin, ഉഴറായ്വിൻ uḷarāyvin, collāyvin; polite imperatives like ഓരായ്വ trayga; verbal nouns of the type of ചെയ്യായ്ക ceyyāyga; the forms ഇല്ലായത illayāda, അല്ലായ്യിൽ allayāygi, ഇല്ലായത്ത are all met with in Eḷ's works.

20. Negative forms like അറിയായതല്ലെതു aṟiyāvadallēdum, നീക്കായതല്ല n'ikkāvadalla, ആക്രമിക്കാമല്ല ākrāmikkāmalla.

21. The occurrence of a form like കൊല്ലാതെകൊള്ളാത്ത kollāḍe kollāḍāṇṇu [Eḷ. Bh, p. 379] shows how modern colloquial കൊല്ലാണ്ട kollāṇḍu is to be derived from kollāḍe koṇḍu

[the past participle of *kollāde kol*—of which the negative participle appears as *kollāde kol||ānn-*]. [Cf. instances from KG cited above].

22. കേട്ടോളം *kēṭṭōlam*, കണ്ടോളം *kaṇḍōlam*, മാരേതോളം *ōṭṭōlam*; and കേട്ടുകൊണ്ടു *kēṭṭa koṇḍu*.

23. Appellatives like എങ്ങനാൻ *eṇṇōn*.

24. മതിപോയം *madi pōrum*,

എന്നി *enni* and എന്നിയെ *en'n'iyē* corresponding to ഇന്നി *in'n'i*, ഇൻനി *ind'i* and ഇൻനിയെ *ind'iyē* of the Paṇikkars.

A comparison of the morphological features of *E*l's language with those of KG shows that, while there are many features in common, *E*l's language evidences a few conspicuous differences or developments also:—

(i) the absence of *u||ōnē* and of *u||ōyē*; the rarity of *u||ōvē*; the form *pōkkal*; the rarer use of *eṇṇal-*; the use of *paladu* besides *palavu* (in connection with plurals); the directives with *-ōṭṭ*, *ēkk* and *iṅgalēkk*.

(ii) *arudu* denoting 'prohibition'; fewer types of tense-forms showing personal terminations; the replacement of *tāṇṇ-*, *vīṇṇ-* by *tāṇ-*, *vīṇ-*; absence of *conn-* and of *vīd-*; the absence of forms like *tan'n'ūdum*, *n'īraṇ'n'ūdum*, etc; the rarity of the terminative expletive *ē* (so frequent in KG); etc.

6. OLD MALAYĀLAM AND NEW MALAYĀLAM.

As already noted by me in the Introduction, the period of New Mal. may be said to begin from about the sixteenth century. The language of *E*luttasāṇ, however, continues to show some peculiarities of Old Mal., by the side of several characteristic features of New Mal.; and conversely, certain New Mal. features already appear in KG and in the 15th century campus. In spite of this overlapping, it is not difficult to demarcate those morphological developments which characteristically appertain to the New Mal. stage.

Inflexions.

1. The absence in New Mal. of postpositions like *pōkkal*; of *iḍa*, *u*; of *koṇḍu* and *toṭṭu* with a second case force; of *u||ōyē* and *u||ōvē*; of *edō* in connection with women (except regionally).

2. The practice, current in the *maṇipravāḷa* period, of using *samskr̥tīkṛta bhāṣā*¹ i.e., native words with Sanskrit endings, practically disappeared in the period of the *campus*; but echoes of the older practice still remained in a few instances cited above in *Candr.* This practice disappeared in the New Mal. period.

3. The practice of introducing syntactic concord between *viśeṣaṇa* and *viśeṣya*, as in the *campus*, was also a temporary aberration under Sanskrit influence. This generally disappeared in the New Mal. period, though *Uṇṇāyi* with his extraordinary attachment to Sanskrit has sometimes used such constructions in *Nal. Āṭṭ*.

4. Similarly, imitations of Sanskrit "case"-concord, as in ഗ്രാമത്തെ ആവശിക്കുന്നുണ്ട് *grāmatte āvasikkund'on* രാജ്യത്തെ അധിപതിച്ചു *rājyatte adhivasiccu* [already condemned by the commentary on *Lil.* II, II, comm.], ആപത്തികൾ നിന്ന ഭയപ്പെട്ടു *āpattingal n'in'n'u bhaya-ppetṭu* have also fallen into disuse.

5. The directives of the types of *vīṭṭilēkku* and *kīlōṭṭu* became permanently fixed in New Mal. The directives with *n'ōkki*, *āmmāru*, *āykkonḍu* are out of vogue today.

6. The use of phrasal units of the type of കാട്ടിലേ ആന *kāṭṭile āna* was extended to instances like അങ്ങനത്തെ അന്നനാട്ടേ *aṅganatte aṅṇanattē* ഉച്ചക്കേത്തേ *uccakkēttē*, വന്നാലത്തേക്കുള്ള *van'n'alattē-k-kāryam*, etc.

7. *eṇṇal*- the "oblique" form disappeared, except in certain "communal" colloquials.

8. *tām* is represented in New Mal. commonly only in *tamil*, while *taniyē* and *tānē* are on the road to ruin; *tān* *tānd'e*, *tand'e* *tānd'e*, *taṇṇal* *taṇṇal* *taṇṇal* *taṇṇal* and similar collocations with *taṇṇal*, and *taṇṇal*-*ē* 'alone' have all disappeared.

9. *ava* and *iva* in New Mal. are used as such without the *cāriyai* or *augment-at't*-in "oblique" inflexions.

1. A few instances of these may be cited here:—Native nouns with Sanskrit endings, like കൊങ്കയാ, ഉണറക്കൈ, [*Lil.*, cit., 2, 7], മരമ്പിനം [US]; native verbs with Sanskrit verb-endings like പിന്നിടേറ്റം [US], കേഴത്തി. [*L.*, cit., 2, 17], പോക്കുംചത്രം [ib.] പൂക്കിനെ, മമണിരൊത്ത പ്ലിരെ [ib.]

Together with this, അവാതറു avat't'a, അവാതറുകൾ avat't'agal, അവാതറിങ്ങൾ avat't'innal are used in regional colloquials as nominatives used with reference to inanimate objects.

10. paladu and ciladu have become quite common in connection with plurals.

Verbs.

1. Many old verb-bases gradually disappeared. Bases like *viḷ-kk-*, *peḍu-kk-*, *vaḷaṛ-kk-*, *tāḷ-kk-* were gradually ousted in New Mal. by *viḷtt-*, *peḍutt-*, etc.

2. *por-* has given place to *porud-* [past stem *porud-i-*]; *karēṛ-* has been replaced by *kayaṛ-*; *arudu* is generally used with the signification of 'prohibition'; *en-* 'to say' is no longer used with the original meaning 'to say or speak'; *val* is retained only in *valla* 'any', *vallatta* [generalised meaning], *vallāḍē* and *vallāṇḍu*; *uḷ-* is represented only by *uṇḍu*, *uḷḷu*, *uḷḷā*, *uḷḷadu*, etc.

3. Personal endings of tense-forms are pure "archaisms" in New Mal.

4. While *-in'n'-* and *-un'n'-* existed in Old Mal. as the present tense affix, *-un'n'-* became exclusive in New Mal.

5. *eḷun'in'n'-* is replaced by *eḷun'ētt-*, and *tāṇṇ*, *viṇṇ-*, by *tāṇ-*, *viṇ-*; *viṣi-* and *cāri-* are exclusive past stems of *viṣ-* and *cār-*.

6. The *-um* future finites were not quite numerous in Old Mal. texts for the 1st and the 2nd persons [for which, texts show more numerous instances with personal endings like *nān varuvan*, *n'i varuvāy*, etc.]. In New Mal. literature, *nān varum*, *n'i varum*, *avar varum* become quite common.

7. The *ū-* "aorist" becomes gradually restricted to a few syntactic types.

8. The infinitive participle with *-a* becomes limited to the contexts already mentioned in Chap. IV, § 7 above.

9. The participle followed by *āṛu*, signifying "manner" exists only in instances like *ceyyumāṛu* [ceyyāṛu], *kāṇumāṛu*; the type with *āṛē*, denoting 'time' persists today in regional colloquials.

10. Third personal optatives of the type of *avan varuga* no longer exist.

11. The conditional with *-gil* continued to exist in literature; but in the colloquial it was gradually displaced by the conditional of the *ceyd-āl* type; today, the latter alone occurs in the colloquial.

12. The tense-type *van'n'ēnē* appears in New Mal.

13. Among the negative verb-forms (conjugated with tense affixes or verbal endings), only the past stem and the verbal noun are retained in the colloquials.

14. The neg. rel. participle of the *varāda* type appears as *varātta* in New Mal.

15. The negative types *ceyyun'n'ōnalla*, *pulambun'n'ūdalla*; and *pugaḷttāmalla*, *collāvalla* have all disappeared.

16. *Varallē* type replaces the prohibitive *varōḷlā*.

17. *Ceyyarudu* is exclusively a prohibitive; *ceydu kuḍā* and *ceyya vayyā* have developed "prohibitive" meanings beside the older significations.

Ceyyān mēlā crops up in New Mal. literature.

CHAPTER VII.—AFFILIATIONS.

1. MAL. AND TAM.

The question of fixing the degree of the linguistic relationship of Malayālam to the other Dravidian speeches of South India has to be approached with reference to two aspects:— (a) how far Malayālam is much nearer related to Tamil than to any other south Dravidian speech; and (b) if Malayālam is found to be much more intimately allied to Tamil than to any other south Dravidian speech, to which particular stage of Tamil it shows the maximum resemblance.

The criteria evolved by modern linguistics for estimating the degrees of kinship among languages cannot be better stated than in the words of the *doyen* among modern French linguists, Prof. Antoine Meillet (*Le probleme de la parente des langues*, pp. 88, 84):—"Linguistic kinship is evident wherever the phonetic and the grammatical systems present exact resemblances, wherever regular correspondences permit of the recognition of the unity of the origin of these features, and wherever the grammatical forms could be traced to a common original starting point." "Vocabulary is the domain of loans. There is no word in a given language of which we cannot say *a priori* that it has not been borrowed from a foreign speech. There is no language, the vocabulary of which does not include borrowings. It is, therefore, more than anything else by the persistence of the phonetic and the grammatical systems that the "kinship of languages" expresses itself."

Resemblances in phonetics (including phonology) and in grammar, therefore, form the essential criteria of linguistic kinship. Vocabularial parallelisms of course are not entirely negligible, but they are significant only when the question of borrowings has been fully tackled.

The application of these fundamental tests reveals beyond doubt that Malayālam is far more intimately allied to Tam. than to any other Dr. speech.

I shall mention below some of the essential features of the Tamil-Malayālam group, that mark it off from other Dr. speeches:—

Phonetics and Phonology:— (i) the alveolar plosives and the sandhi contexts in which they occur; (ii) the persistence of

l and r; (iii) the difference between dental n' and alveolar n; (iv) the regular sonatisation of intervocal surds; (v) the uniform sonatisation of surds and affricates in the consonant groups with nasals; (vi) the development of the affricate c from k; (vii) the palatalisation of -k- in internal positions; (viii) external sandhi of different types, particularly in compounds; (ix) many internal sandhi changes.

Morphology:—(i) Many suffixes associated with gender; (ii) plural formations with mār; (iii) "casal" terminations, augments and many postpositions; (iv) verb-bases with the kārita affix; (v) transitive bases; (vi) Present tense ending; (vii) formation of past stems; (viii) Inf. participles with vān, etc; (ix) many imperatives; (x) negative tenses and forms.

While I have pointed out above the parallelisms, I may also observe here that there is not one single native feature of Malayālam phonetics or Malayālam morphology which can be shown to be nearer related to any Dravidian speech than to Tamil.

2. FEATURES OF MAL. MORPHOLOGY WHICH CAN BE HISTORICALLY DERIVED FROM A STAGE CORRESPONDING TO MIDDLE TAM.

1. Among the nominal inflexions, the instrumental āl, the sing. genitive -nd'e, the loc. -il, and -kal; the use of the plural -kaḷ for 'rationals' as well as for 'irrationals' and of the double plurals with -mār-gaḷ; postpositions like koṇḍu, kuṛiccu, vare, pakkal, etc., the comparisonal -il and kāṭṭil.

2. The pronouns n'innal [<n'im-kal], nannal [cf. n'āmgal], eñnal- [<eñgal], avargaḷ; and the use of ava in the "oblique" forms without the augment.

3. Verb-bases of the type of peḍu-kk- beside peḍutt-; bases like n'irutt-, irutt- [absent in Old Tam.]; the causative endings [from Middle Tam. vi type]; the Old Mal. personal endings ān, ār, ēn, ōm, āy; the present tense -in'n-, -un'n'- [from Middle Tamil -g-ind']; the conditionals with -il; the concessives with -ānum, -ēnum, -ēlum; the use of the opt. ending -ga for the first and the second persons; the employment of the infinitive participles with -vān, -ppān; and many negative verb-forms.

Table showing the direct affinities of Mal. to Middle Tamil.

	1	2	3	4	Mal.
I. 3rd case affix	ān		āl	āl	
4th case	iṭ-ku [in-ku]		Early Middle Tam. in-u-kk	in-u-or -innu	
5th case	in		-il-n'inr-	il-n'in'n'u	
6th case	[-adu, etc.]		uḍai	uḍe, -(n)d'e	
7th case	[kaṇ, kāl, etc.]		il	il	
Postpositions	[loose]		[koṇḍu, pakkal, etc., freely used]	[Postpositions freely used]	
First person pl. pronoun	n'ām		n'ām-kal;	nāññal, nāññal and nammaḷ	
Second person pl. pronoun	n'im		n'im-gal	n'iññal	
Third person pl. pronoun epicene.	avar		avargal	avargal	
Do do 'irrational'.	avai		avaigal	avagal	
Verb-bases like paḍuttu-, irutt-, n'iṭutt-.	[very rare]		[frequent]	[common,	

	Old Tam.	Middle Tam.	Mal.
	2	3	4
Causatives with vi, bi, ppi.			
Personal terminations for tense-finites.	[absent] usually (an)en, (-an)- ai, (an)an, (an)- em, (an)ir, an ru	[common]	[common]
Present tense with -g-ind'.	[absent]	[common]	in'n', -un'n'
Future-aorist with -um.	[only for some forms of 3rd person]	[As in Old Tam.]	[Extended to all persons]
Optatives.	[For third person, generally speaking]	[For all persons]	[For all persons]
Infinitive participle with - vān, -bān, -ppān.	[absent]	[common]	vān, mān, ppān
Negative tense-forms with tense-affixes.	[absent]	[absent as such]	vārā-y-ind', etc., formed on the popu- lar neg. base vārā
Negative verb-forms on the stem-type ceyyād-.	[present]	[present]	[present]
Negatives like 'ceyd-il-en, etc.	[rare]	[common]	ceydilla, etc.

3. CHIEF UNIQUE FEATURES OF MALAYALAM MORPHOLOGY.

The following are unique in Mal. in so much as they have neither direct counterparts nor direct "ancestral" forms in Middle or (except in (i) below) in Old Tamil.

(i) *n'in-* the Mal. inflexional base of the second person sing. is certainly an archaism in the west coast speech.

(ii) The use of *n'innal* as an "oblique" form is unique in the west coast.

(iii) The aoristic future tense-forms with *u*.

(iv) The type *ceyyām*, as distinguished from Middle Tamil type *ceyyalām*.

(v) The plural [second person] imperative type *ceyvin*, *koḍuppin*, as distinct from the Tamil *-min*.

The *ceyyām*-type is apparently a future form with *-um* of the compounded base-type *ceyy-āg*, common in Old Mal.

As for the "aoristic" tense with *u*, I have shown above [Chap. IV § 6] that it was probably formed in Mal. from modifications of forms which it shared with Tamil.

n'in-, the *ceyyām* type and the imperatives of the type of *ceyvin*, *koḍuppin* may have been archaic in Mal.; but it may be noted that no non-Tamil speech affords more direct representatives or nearer relatives than Tamil.

4. AFFILIATIONS.

As already pointed out § 2 above, it is with Early Middle Tamil that Malayalam is most intimately related.

I have been led to stress the question of affiliations so much here because of the view prevailing among some scholars in Malabar, that in point of linguistic kinship, Malayalam stands in relation to Tamil on as much a footing of equality as Kannaḍa or even Telugu.

Those who maintain that "Mal. is as much independent of Tamil as Kannaḍa or Telugu" seek support for their view in the following postulates of theirs. It is necessary to examine them here in some little detail in view of the vogue obtaining for them among some Malayalam scholars; but I may say at once that some of these postulates (see below for discussion) are wholly untenable, while others are not capable of being satisfactorily

proved or supported, and further that even if it happens that some of these postulates could in the future be supported by data which are not now available, one has to remember that these features (appearing as archaisms) are after all so few that they cannot touch anything more than the outermost fringe of the problem of affinities; for, as I have already pointed out above, correspondences and derivative relationships between Mal. and a stage of speech answering to Early Middle Tamil are so numerous and so fundamental that there would be no scientific warrant for any view other than that Mal. is most intimately allied to a stage of speech¹ corresponding to Early Middle Tamil, with a few archaisms peculiar to the west coast.

I now proceed to discuss the postulates referred to above.

1. The suggestion is made that the final -a of Mal. nouns (and of a few other words), far from having been derived from the corresponding -ai of Tamil, represents the direct development of an original palatal-a in view of (i) the existence of -a in Telugu, corresponding to Mal. -a and Tam.-ai, as in Tel. *tala* 'head', *ora* 'sheath', *keṛa* 'defect' etc.; (ii) sūtra 284 of *Tolkāppiyam Eluttu*, which states that the -ai of *panai*, *āvirai* is 'dropped' in *saṃāsa* sandhi, as in *panaṅgāy*, *āviraṅgāy*,—a statement that is alleged to imply the fact that the original forms of these words may have been *pana*, etc., which in Tamil later developed into *panai*, etc.; and (iii) the adaptation by Tam. of some Sanskrit words (having final-a) with final-ai, as in Tam. *śītai*, etc.

Further support for this postulate is sought from the fact that Mal. *illa*, *ava*, *iva* corresponding to Tam. *illai*, *avai*, *ivai* [all

1. The real position may have been this. In the earliest centuries of the Christian era the west coast speech and the language that was used in post-Śaṅgam texts (i. e. Early Middle Tam.) were fundamentally alike, with of course a few regional differences. This speech (which was later employed in literature by the Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite bhaktas) may have already been developed in the colloquial of the masses some time about the beginning of the Christian era. Old Tamil which continued to be employed in the late Śaṅgam texts may have by this time become a *kunstsprache*. In the east coast, the living speech of the masses was used in the works of the Śaivite and the Vaiṣṇavite saints after about the 5th century A. D. In the west coast, about this period the colloquial was perhaps gradually evolving characteristic Mal. features.

of which are already met with in the earliest Tam. texts contain -a, the original plural ending, which in Tam. may have developed into -ai, in these words. Again, *Tolkāppiyam* Eḷuttu, sūtra 373, which states that il takes -ai in samāsa sandhi [as in illai-k-kottan] and the existence of illa in Kannaḍa are also pressed in support of the view.

It was Caldwell [Comp. Gr., p. 133] who first suggested that final-a of Mal. in these contexts may have been older than the corresponding Tam. -ai; but the only basis on which Caldwell rested his view was that Mal. and Tel. had a final a corresponding to Tam. ai. The above arguments have been advanced by later scholars. In my opinion, no one of these arguments can amount to a satisfactory proof for the position that Mal. -a was not evolved from Middle Tam. -ai as suggested by the inscriptional and literary instances and by general principles of phonetic change.

(i) There is nothing to disprove the suggestion that Tel. -a in tala, oṛa, etc., may not itself have been derived from an older -ai.

(ii) The Tol. Eḷuttu sūtra about the Tam. compound panaṅgāy offers little evidentiary value for the suggestion that pana was older than panai; for, in the first place, the sūtra states that -ai is elided [ai-y-en-iṛudi keḍumē] and, secondly, panaṅgāy may have been a reduced form of older panai-y-in-gāy [cf. the alternative ā-n- and ā-v-in, the inflexional stems of 'cow', according to TE, 121.]

(iii) Tam. adaptations like śīdai from Sanskrit sītā need not necessarily have involved a Tamil rule applicable to native forms like talai, panai. The shapes which adaptations from foreign languages assume in a language may very well be regulated by the analogy of already existing forms and can by no means always be regarded as pointing to an inflexible principle of phonetic change rooted in the speech. The forms with -ai, already existing in Tam., may have influenced the structure of these adaptations from Sanskrit.

(iv) illa, as used in Mal., corresponds to illai of Tamil, employed as a kuṛippu vinai particle for all genders, numbers and persons. Tam. has ila which is the regular third person

“neuter” plural of the kuṟippuvinaṭ base il. Even granting that illai of Tam. is connected in some way with ila, there is very little proof for us to say that Mal. illa may not have been derived from illai, the negative particle, used for all genders, numbers and persons. Tam. illai may itself have been an independent formation from il, and it may not have been *directly* connected with the plural third person ila.

(v) As for ava, iva, it may be granted that the plural particle -a is of course appropriate in the terminal position here. But the plural particle is in Tamil always dorsal in tonality, as is evidenced by the back glide -v- appearing after paḷa and cila before words with initial vowels in syntactic sandhi positions, while Mal. ava, iva have a final -a which should originally have been palatal in tonality in view of the fact that the front glide-y- alone appears after it. This leads me to doubt the validity of the suggestion that -a of Mal. ava, iva is (as it at present stands) the plural particle -a. On the other hand, the fact that the palatal or front glide alone is associated with Mal. ava, iva, [cf. the inflexional forms avayude, avayirṭil] perhaps points to their being immediately related to, and derived from, a stage corresponding to Middle Tam. avai, ivai.

None of the facts adduced in support of the view that Mal. -a is not directly connected with the corresponding Tam. -ai, can satisfactorily help this theory.

2. It is argued that the Mal. second case ending e is derived from an older palatal -a [of what one may postulate as ‘parent Dravidian’], from which Tam. ai may have been separately derived, and that therefore the common view [approved by Kēraḷa Pāṇinīyam] that the Mal. second case ending -e is derived from Tam. -ai [just as colloquial Tam. has -e as a derivative of literary Tam. -ai] is not valid.

Support for this position is sought from the -sūtra of Tolkaṭṭiyam, Colladigāram, 108 1, which states that in poetry the

1. TC, 108, states:—அ, அஹ, அந் அந் வகு உ ஐஹி ஸவெஹி மிவஹி மெய்யுஹி. Here, the -a is postulated not only in connection with ai but also with the dative ku and the instrumental அந் also; so that these appear in poetry as -a (Acc.), -ka (Dat.) and அந் (Instr.). The first two appear, according to another sūtra, only in connection with rationals. There is nothing in all this to justify the view that -a was the original Acc. ending and ai secondary.

second case ending appears as -a instead of as -ai. It is argued that since poetry may preserve archaic forms, -a as the second case ending may be older than -ai.

The suggestion may have something in it; and one may be tempted to connect, in pursuance of this suggestion, the older -a of Tam.-Mal. with the -a that appears in Old Kannaḍa as a rare accusative ending. Some scholars have even gone further into the dark and suggested that this -a may have been a softened form of -an appearing as the accusative ending in Telugu, Kannaḍa, Gōṇḍi, Kūi, Kuṛukh and Karachi Brāhūi. But these suggestions and ingenious adventures into the unknown can never amount to proofs.

Be this as it may, there is as yet no fact or datum available, to prove conclusively what is suggested by the inscriptions and texts, and supported by phonetic analogy [cf. Mal. paṇḍe, vare, maṭṭe, n'aḷe with Tam. paṇḍai, varai, maṭṭai n'aḷai], viz. that Mal. acc. -e is derived from Tam. -ai.

3. The preservation of the distinction between dental n' and alveolar n, of which so much is made by some scholars to prove what they describe as the 'antiquity' of Mal., is not of much substance when one remembers that the distinction is clearly pointed out in the old Tamil grammars and preserved in the Tamil alphabet. Dental n' perhaps disappeared from colloquial Tamil pronunciation at a comparatively late stage after Mal. had branched off from Middle Tam.

4. Similarly, the fact that Mal. gives the long alveolar plosive ṛṛ the pure alveolar value both in the colloquial and in the literary speech, while modern Tam. evaluates it as ṛṛr, can be no proof at all for the view that 'Mal. is linguistically as much independent of Tam. as Kannaḍa or Telugu'. The incorporation of r in ṛṛr is perhaps a comparatively late South Indian peculiarity, not met with in Jaffna Tam. where ṛṛ is 'correctly' evaluated as ṛṛ. [See my HAP].

5. The absence of personal endings for tense-forms in Mal. is regarded by some as a relic of "parent Dravidian" which therefore, according to these scholars, confers upon Mal. an

individuality all its own. But, as I have already pointed out above, all the data so far available furnish no positive proof or support for the view that the absence of personal endings in tense-forms was characteristic of the older stages.

On the whole, except for a very few archaisms like the inflexional n'in-, the plural imperatives with vin, ppin, and perhaps constructions like ceyyām and ceyyarudu, the features of Mal. morphology are directly related to, or immediately derivable from, a stage of speech corresponding to what may now be described as Early Middle Tamil.



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Pūṇḍānam's Jñānappāna and Santānagopālam [Maṅgaḷodayam]	Pāṭṭ.
Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇam [Bhāratavilāsam].	VR
Mōkṣadāyakam [Sri Mūlam Gr.]	Mōkṣ
Bhīṣmopadeśam	Bhīṣm.
Kirātārjjunīyam [New standard Era series]	Kirāt. Kīlipp.
Rukmāṅgadacaritam gātha [„]	Rukm.
Nāgānandam Kīlippāṭṭu [„]	Nāg.
Ekādaśī mātṛmyam I and II [„]	Ekād.
Bharatavākyaṁ [Śrī Mūl. Gr.]	Bharat.
Praiṣam [„]	Praiṣ.
Koṭṭārakkara Tamburān's Āṭṭakkathagaḷ	Kōttār. Āṭṭ.
Kōṭṭayattu Tamburān's Āṭṭakkathagaḷ	Kōtt. Āṭṭ.
Cāṇakya Sūtram [Cochin Mal. Improvement Committee]	Cāṇakky.
Kuñjan's Tuḷḷakkathagaḷ [Maṅgaḷodayam]	Tuḷḷ
Sabhāpravēśam പൊയൽ ഉള്ളൽ	Sabhā
Naḷacaritam Kīlippāṭṭu	Naḷ. Kīlipp.
Padin'ālu vṛttam [University selections]	Padin'āl.
Irupattin'ālu vṛttam Bhāgavatam [Cochin Mal. Improvement Committee]	Irupatt. Bhāg
Viṣṇugita hamsappāṭṭu [Sri Mūlam Gr.]	Viṣṇ.
Girijākalyāṇam [„]	Girij.
Uṇṇāyi's Naḷacaritam Āṭṭakkatha [University selections]	Naḷ. Āṭṭ.

Rāmapurattu Vāriar's Kucēlavṛttam Vaṇjippaṭṭu	
[ed. by Unṇi]	Kucēl. Vaṇji.
Kallēnguḷaṇṇare Vāriar's Vēṭāla caritam [Cochin	
Mal. Impr. Committee]	Vēṭā.
Kēraḷpatti [Basel Mission Press]	KU
„ [Bhāratavilāsam Press]	KU b
Vaḍakkan Paṭṭu [Reddiar's edition]	VP
Do [Madras University]	VP m
Malayāḷattilē Paḷaya Pāṭṭugaḷ	
[ed. by C. P. G. Pillay]	Paḷ. Pāṭṭ
Pāṭṭugaḷ—Vols. I and II—[Maṅgaḷōdayam edn.]	Pāṭṭ
Folk-songs [ed. by K. P. Karuppan]	Folks.
Malayāḷam Proverbs [Vidyāvilāsa Press edn.]	MP
Proverbs in Mal. [compiled by P. Paul]	Proverbs
Āṭṭakkathas (in one volume)	Āṭṭ
Travancore Archaeological Series	TAS
[Vols. I to VII]	
Cochin Archaeological Reports	CAR
[Vols. I to VII]	
Keraḷa Society Papers	KSP
[Series 1 to 7]	
Journal of the Keraḷa Academy	JKA
[Vols. I to III]	
Maṅgaḷōdayam [Journal]	M
Prācīna Grantha Mālā- [ed. by Prince Appan	
Tampurān]	Pr Gr
Kēraḷa Pāṇinīyam [B. V. Book Depot]	KP
Malayāḷam Grammar by Gundert [Basel	
Mission Press]	

TAMIL.

Tolkāppiyam Eḷuttu [Śaiva Siddhānta edn.]	TE
„ Col. [„]	TC
Viracōḷiyam [ed. by Damodara Mudaliar]	V
Nannūl [ed. by Sāminādayyar]	N
Ilakkana Viḷakkam [ed. by Damodara Mudaliar]	IV
Puṇaṇānūṟu [ed. by Sāminādayyar]	PN

Kamba Rāmāyaṇam [University selections] Kamb. R.
Tēvāram	T
Hymns of Tam. Śaivite Saints [Heritage of India	series]
	HTS
South Indian Inscriptions [Govt. of India]	SII
Nammāḷvar's Tiruvāymoḷi [Vaiṣṇava Publishing	House]
	NTM
Popes Gr. of the Tamil language.	

KANNADA.

Śabdamaṇidarpaṇi [ed. by F. Kittel]	SM
Grammar of Kannaḍa [by F. Kittel]	

MY OWN PAPERS.

Morphology of the Old Tam. Verb	}	MOTV
["Anthropos"]		
History of the Tamil-Mal. Alveolar Plosive	}	HAP
["Journal of the Madras University"]		
Dravidic Sandhi ["Quarterly Journal of the	}	DS
Mythic Society"]		
Grammar in Līṭātilakam ["Bull. of the Rāma	}	GL
Varma Research Institute", 1934]		

KEY TO THE ABBREVIATIONS OF THE NAMES OF MAL. WORKS.

Bhāg	[ഭാരതം കിളിപ്പാട്ട്-ഭഗവദ്ഗീതം വരെ—Bhāga-	
	vatam till Daśama]	
Bhāg. Daś	[ഭാരതം ഭഗവദ്]	
Bak.	[വടകൻ ബകവായം-ആട്ടക്കഥ Baka Vadham]	
Bh Bh	[ഭാരതം ഭാഷാ	Bhāgavatam bhāṣā
	gadyam]	
Bharat.	[ഭാരതവാക്യം	Bharatavākyaṃ]
BhG.	[ഭഗവൽഗീതപ്പാട്ട്	Bhagavatgītappāṭṭu]
Bhīṣm.	[ഭീഷ്മോപദേശം	Bhīṣmōpadēśam]
CAR	[Cochin Archaeological Reports]	
Cāṇakky.	[ചാണക്യസൂത്രം	Cāṇakya Sūtram]
Candr.	[ചന്ദ്രോത്സവം	Candrotsavam]
CBh	[ചെറുശ്ശേരി ഭാരതം	Cerussēri Bhāratam]
Cint.	[ചിന്താരത്നം	Cintāratnam]
EḷBh	[മഹാഭാരതം കിളിപ്പാട്ട്	Eḷuttaśṣan's Bhāratam]
EḷRām.	[അല്പാത്മരമായണം കിളിപ്പാട്ട്	Eḷuttaśṣan's Rāmā-
		yānam]
Ēkād.	[ഏകാദശിമാഹാത്മ്യം]	
Folks.	[Malayāḷam Folk-songs compiled by K. P. Karuppan]	
Girij.	[ഗിരിജാകല്യാണം	Uṇṇāyi's Girijākā-
		yānam]
Hari.	[ഹരിനാമകീർത്തനം	Harin'āmakīrttanam]
Irupatt.	[ഇരുപത്തിനാലുവൃത്തം രാമായണം	Irupattinālu vṛttam
Rām.		Rāmāyānam]
Irupatt.	[ഇരുപത്തിനാലുവൃത്തം ഭാരതം	Irupattinālu vṛttam
Bhāg.		Bhāgavatam]
JKA	[സാഹിത്യപുരീഷത്ത് ക്രൈമാസിക്	Journal of the Kerala
		Academy]
Kirāt. camp.	[കിരതം പ്രബന്ധം	Kirātam campu]
Kaivaly.	[കൈവല്യ നവനീതം	Kaivalyanāvanītam]

Kaly.	[കല്യാണസൗതന്ധികം ചമ്പു Kalyāṇasaugandhi- kam campu]
Kaly. Āṭṭ.	[വടക്കൻ കല്യാണസൗതന്ധികം Vadaṭṭkan Kalyāṇa ആട്ടക്കഥ Saugandhikam Āṭṭakkatha]
KBhr	[കണ്ണരോരതം Kaṇṇaśśa Bhāratam]
KBhāg.	[കണ്ണരോതവതം]
Kirāt.	[കിരാതാജ്ജനിയം കിച്ചിപ്പാട്ട് Kirātārjjunīyam Kiṭippāṭṭu]
KG	[കൃഷ്ണഗാഥ Kṛṣṇa gātha]
KP	[കേരളപാണിനിയം Kēraḷa Pāṇinīyam]
KR	[കണ്ണര രാമായണം Kaṇṇaśśa Rāmāyaṇam]
KSP	[Kerala Society Papers]
KU	[കേരളോല്പത്തി Keraḷolpatti]
Kuc. Vañji	[കുചേലവൃത്തം വഞ്ചിപ്പാട്ട് Kucēlavṛttam Vañjippāṭṭu]
KV	[കൊട്ടിയവിരഹം ചമ്പു Koḍiyaviraham campu]
Lil.	[ലീലാതിലകം Līlātilakam]
Maṅg.	[മാംഗളോദയം മാംഗിക Maṅgaḷodayam]
Mōkṣ.	[മോക്ഷദായകം Mōkṣadāyakam]
MP	[മലയാളത്തിലെ പഴഞ്ചൊല്ലുകൾ Malayāḷam Proverbs Vidyāvilāsam edition]
Naiṣ. camp.	[നൈഷധം ചമ്പു Naiṣadham campu]
Nāg.	[നാഗാനന്ദം കിച്ചിപ്പാട്ട് Nāgānandam]
Naḷ. Āṭṭ.	[നളചരിതം ആട്ടക്കഥ Naḷacaritam Āṭṭakkatha]
Paḍap.	[പടപ്പാട്ട് Paḍappāṭṭu]
Pārv.	[പാർവ്വതീ പാണിഗ്രഹണം Pārvatīpāṇigrahaṇam]
Pāṭṭ.	[പാട്ടുകൾ Pāṭṭuḷ—compiled by Yogakṣemam Publishing Co.]
Paḷ. Pāṭṭ.	[മലയാളത്തിലെ പഴയ പാട്ടുകൾ Malayāḷattilē Paḷaya Pāṭṭuḷ edited by C. P. G. Pillay]
Praiṣ.	[പ്രൈശം Praiṣam—Śrī Mūlam Gr.]
Proverbs	[Proverbs in Mal., compiled by P. Paul]
Pr. Gr.	[പ്രാചീന ഗ്രന്ഥമാല Prācīna Grantha Māla]
PT	[പഞ്ചതന്ത്രം Pancatantram]
R	[രാമകഥപ്പാട്ട് Rāmakathappāṭṭu]
Rāj.	[രാജരാത്നാവലിയം ചമ്പു Rājaratnāvalīyam campu]

Rām. camp.	[രാമായണം ചമ്പു]	Rāmāyaṇam campu]
Rāv.	[രാവണവിജയം ചമ്പു]	Rāvaṇa Vijayam campu]
RC.	[രാമചരിതം]	Rāma caritam]
Rugm.	[രുഗ്മംഗമചരിതം ഗാഥ]	Rugmāṅgadacaritam]
Sabhā	[സഭാപ്രവേശം—പറയൻ തുള്ളൽ]	
ŚM	[പണിക്കരുടെ തിവരാത്രീ മാഹാത്മ്യം]	Niraṇam Sivarātri Māhātmyam]
TAS	[Travancore Archaeological Series]	
Tu]]	[നമ്പ്യാരുടെ തുള്ളലുകൾ: ഓട്ടത്തുള്ളലുകൾ, പറയത്തുള്ളലുകൾ and തീതങ്കത്തുള്ളലുകൾ]	
Vēṭ	[വേതാള ചരിതം]	Vēṭāḷa caritam]
Viṣṇ.	[വിഷ്ണുഗീത-മംസപ്പാട്ട്]	
VP	[വടക്കൻ പാട്ടുകൾ]	Vaḍakkan Pāṭṭugal]
VPm	[do. Madras University edition, Vol. I]	
VR	[വാത്മികി രാമായണം]	Keraḷa Varma's Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇam]





